DOCUMENT RESUME

UD 001 892

ED 022 800

By-Burdin, Joel L., Ed.
TEACHING THE DISADVANTAGED.
Pub Date Oct 65
Note-54p.
Journal Cit-The Teachers College Journal; v37 n1 Oct 1965
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.24
Descriptors-CHILDHOOD NEEDS, CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, *DISADVANTAGED YOUTH, EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS, HOME VISITS, SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, SPECIAL PROGRAMS, TEACHER ATTITUDES, *TEACHER EDUCATION, TEACHER INFLUENCE

This entire issue of an educational journal is devoted to teaching the disadvantaged. Following the introductory remarks by a senator from Indiana, there are articles on the needs of all children, the educational responsibility and sociopsychological factors specific to the disadvantaged, and two curriculum proposals. Also included are papers on special centers for the education of the disadvantaged, the role of the elementary school teacher, teacher sensitivity, and the desirability of home visits by teachers. (NH)

E XXXVII
R 1
ER, 1965

ABSTRACTED

the Teachers College Journal

INDIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA

01872

INFORMATION RETRIEVAL CENTER ON THE DISADVANTAGED
Ferkauf Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University

TEACHING THE DISADVANTAGED....

ED 002800

UD 001 872

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TEACHING THE DISADVANTAGED

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS—
In addition to the writers, several persons have helped in planning and preparing this edition of the **Journal:** the I.S.U. Audio-Visual Department, all pictures except the one from Sen. Bayh's office; Dr. Paul W. Koester, suggestions for most of the writers; and the University's Division of Printing, reproduction services.

The Teachers College Journal of the School of Education is printed at the Indiana State University Division of Printing

UD 001 892

THE TEACHERS COLLEGE **JOURNAL**

VOLUME XXXVII, No. 1, OCTOBER, 1965
Articles from the Journal are indexed in the Education Index

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Manuscripts concerned with controversial issues are welcome, with the express understanding that all such issues are published without editorial bias or discrimination.

Articles are presented on the authority of their writers, and do not necessarily commit the Journal to points of view so expressed. At all times the Journal reserves the right to refuse publication if in the opinion of the Editorial Board an author has violated standards of professional ethics or journalistic presentation.

Published October, November, December, January, March, and May by Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter October 5, 1931, at the Post Office at Terre Haute, Indiana, under act of August 24, 1912.

EDUCATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Introduction. . . .

The children pictured in this issue appealingly challenge the best efforts of educators to assume their responsibilities to disadvantaged children and youth. This issue of the *Journal* is devoted entirely to education of the disadvantaged.

The pictures were taken at centers operated by the 1965 Indiana State University "Reading Institute for Teachers, Supervisors, Guidance Personnel, and Principals Who Teach Disadvantaged Elementary Children." The centers were established in the I.S.U. area to provide Institute participants with opportunities for helping children and at the same time making Institute studies more meaningful. The Institute was one of several held at I.S.U. The Institute is an example of efforts by American colleges and universities to broaden their services to all people.

The reader of the *Journal* will find a diversity of viewpoints and a variety of writing styles. This is appropriate since *Journal* readers vary considerably, including teacher education majors and highly trained, experienced professionals. Hopefully a reading of scholarly reports, personal experiences, and appeals for commitment and sensitivity to human need will help each reader to find ways of converting personal interest into service to *all* children.

The educational pendulum swings from one concern to another with the passing years. There is need for the nation in general and the profession in particular to periodically and intensively examine the needs of children with particular needs and at the same time extend progress made previously when other concerns consumed the interests and energies of nation and profession. With an increasing American commitment to education, it seems that progress now can be made on many fronts simultaneously. The prospects are now brighter for bringing to fruition the American dream of educational opportunity for all. The profession stands on a threshold, *being pushed* toward action by an aroused nation and at the same time *seeking to guide* the nation's efforts into channels which will maximize opportunities for children and youth. An informed profession is needed if it is to be accepted by the nation for a leadership role. This issue of the *Journal* joins an increasing number of publications which inform both the profession seeking to exert leadership and the general reader seeking to determine the degree and the direction of national, state, and local policies in alleviating poverty and its resulting disadvantage.

This *Journal* is dedicated to those who in a variety of ways are opening opportunity's doors to children to whom doors have seemed to be closed. Blessed is the adult who helps a child, for the helper finds the ultimate in personal, professional and civic fulfillment.

J.L.B.

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A Guest Editorial—

"Education Is The Foundation"

THE HONORABLE BIRCH BAYH
U.S. Senator from Indiana

More than 30 years ago, the Government of the United States determined that the problems faced by disadvantaged Americans were everybody's problems.

The passage of the Social Security Act was, more than anything, a recognition that all the inhabitants of this nation shared a moral responsibility to help their less fortunate neighbors to help themselves.

This wasn't a new concept in the history of man.

The same idea is taught us in the story of Cain and Abel. It is made clear by the prophet Amos who stormed against those who took advantage of the poor. It is the sublime lesson in Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan.

But America learned something new from its noble experiment begun with the Social Security Act. It learned that lending a helping hand to the disadvantaged was not only morally right, but sound business as well.

The nation, financially sick in the 1930's, began to recover. The bread lines dwindled as men found work. Stumbling businesses regained their footing as prices stabilized. . . .

Today, the United States is the richest, most powerful nation known to history. Yet, there remains in our midst a sizable group of Americans who are not fully participating in our general, widespread adundance.

We cannot be content so long as more than five million Americans are unemployed.

We cannot remain complacent so long as 450,000 children of migrant farm workers live in abject poverty.

We cannot ignore the six million children of rural families who live in conditions bordering on poverty.

We cannot rest on our educational laurels while one and a half million children sit in overcrowded classrooms, while two million children attend schools with substandard health and safety conditions, while ten percent of all classrooms are fire hazards, while three of every ten children in the fifth grade today will not complete high school, while 11 million Americans can barely read or write.

We know that education is the foundation of any program designed to eradicate poverty. Education means a job. For example, workers 18 years old or older who failed to finish high school account for about two-thirds of the nation's unemployed.

Education means money. The difference between a seventh grade education and a high school education is $128,000 in a lifetime. That comes to $3,200 a year if a person works 40 years. The difference between a high school diploma and a college degree is $188,000—or an average of $94 each and every week over a 40-year period.

Unemployment benefits, public assistance programs, health and medical payments, and public loss due to juvenile crime now cost this nation more than $10½ billion each year. Although we may never entirely eliminate public expenditures for these programs, it seems to me that we would sharply reduce it by providing the best possible educational opportunities for all children.

We are moving ahead on many fronts to help the disadvantaged: Scholarship and low-interest loan programs are available through governmental action to qualified students who otherwise could not afford an education, and a broader program is now being considered by Congress; job-training programs are taking root throughout the nation; expanded efforts are being made to deal with chronically depressed areas of the nation.

But, as poet Robert Frost wrote:

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep, but I have promises to keep,
And I have miles to go before I sleep, and miles to go before I sleep."

We have made a promising beginning toward extending a helping hand to the disadvantaged. It will take the dedication and hard work of us all to travel the yet untrammeled paths to keep our promises to our fellow Americans and to generations yet unborn.

Guideposts for Love and Understanding

by Clara and Morey Appell

All children need love and understanding, according to these writers. It is appropriate to stress some of the ways in which all children are similar — in view of this issue's emphasis upon the ways in which the disadvantaged children are unique.

(1) *Feelings are facts! What each child feels is real for himself.*

There is need to accept each child "as is" rather than as he "should be," if one is to convey true acceptance. One can disagree with an idea or viewpoint, disapprove of certain behavior, but fundamental acceptance of the child is vital. A teacher may indicate, "This is the way you seem to feel but. . ." A parent can suggest, "You simply can't stand this anymore. . ."

(2) *Each child is capable of experiencing the entire gamut of human emotion: love-anger-hate - joy - sorrow.*

When troubled feelings have steady opportunity for release (in a non-judgmental, non-threatening, accepting atmosphere), the child is freed to be his authentic self. Then he is free to most fully actualize himself creatively and productively.

(3) *Children thrive on genuine love, affection, and acceptance.*

Sincere affection generously given builds inner strength and confidence. Children need our love most when they are least lovable. Children who are fretful, cranky, or irritable and difficult to love need to experience love all the more. Children need unconditional love and acceptance with no strings attached.

(4) *Inappropriate anger and sarcasm hurt and frighten children.*

Shaming, ridiculing, belittling, and forced private or public humiliation can lead to feelings of unworthiness and guilt. Deep acceptance and relative freedom from threat allow a child to develop a feeling of worth and dignity.

(5) *Flexible consistency is desirable whenever possible.*

Consistency of feelings and interest of teachers and parents for their children are more important than identical day-to-day behavior. A reasonable sense of what to expect helps children to feel more secure.

(6) *Promises are better avoided unless they are sincere and meant to be kept.*

Avoiding threats and bribes helps children to trust others. Words should match actions. Practicing what we preach is helpful. This includes our admission of error or misunderstanding.

(7) *Responsibility and independence can be encouraged.*

Blind obedience is stifling to growth and maturity. A child is not a miniature adult. He is a young human beginning learning to live with himself and other people. Learning takes time. The road to growth is sometimes bumpy.

8) *A positive rather than a negative approach is preferable in all relationships and especially when handling unacceptable behavior situations.*

It is best to cut down on the "No's" and "Don'ts" in favor of "It would be better to," and the like. Consider how you would like suggestions offered.

(9) *When discipline necessitates setting limits, it is desirable to be firm but gentle.*

Children need to learn what is right and wrong, what may be done and what is unacceptable. Permissiveness can provide opportunities to explore the world around them. Yet, it is necessary to learn that there are certain boundaries in life with others. Children need the kind of discipline that will help them to develop controls from within, toward understanding and self-discipline—an emerging moral conscience. Discipline through affection is most desirable. We may reject the behavior but never the child. It is one thing to reprimand the undesirable behavior; it is quite another to indicate, "I know how you feel, but I cannot let you do that." After mis-

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DR. MOREY APPELL *is a Professor of Education, and* DR. CLARA APPELL *is an Associate Professor of Child Development and Family Life at Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana.*

A Historical Review...

Schooling for the Culturally Deprived[1]

by Harry S. Broudy

Introduction

THE SCHOOLING of the culturally deprived and the disadvantaged child, is, at the moment, one of the liveliest issues on the educational stock exchange.[2] One wonders why this is so. After all, the poor and the downtrodden have always been with us; indeed this has been the most faultless of Scriptural predictions.

There are obvious and perhaps superficial factors in our present concern. The rise of delinquency, the violence spurting out of the civil rights movements in the last few years, the heavy relief rolls at times when prosperity is generally widespread—all of these have made the public sensitive to the possibility of worse things to come. The people are frightened.

In the presidential campaign (1964) Senator Goldwater pointed to these conditions as good reasons for throwing out the Democrats. President Johnson pointed to them as very good reasons for his remaining in office. Goldwater blamed the situation on too much welfare legislation; Johnson on too little. The public was with Johnson on this point. A veritable avalanche of legislation allowing or ordering someone to do something about poverty and schooling is now roaring through the Congressional hopper.

The deeper factors appear when one asks how it is possible for a society living at the highest point on the hog, so to speak, to have such huge pockets of poverty? How is it that the newspapers are filled with pleas for workers in the engineering and business fields, and yet millions of people are unemployed? This has elicited the response that the unemployment is selective; that only the very unskilled and unschooled are unemployed.

Peter F. Drucker, the New York University economist, in the January 10, 1965, issue of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* made some interesting observations on the causes of unemployment.

(1) "The real villain is the tremendous upgrading in the country's educational level—a ten to twenty per cent minority of our young people but still a large total number, especially of younger Negroes —are losing ground in status and opportunities."

(2) He doubts that the real villain is automation, for although the core of "our present unemployment is made up of teen-agers, especially teen-age Negroes... most of these get jobs when they become adults; that is, when they become available for full-time work. After 20, there is a dramatic drop in the joblessness rate, even among Negroes."

(3) He argues that the fact that the large majority of young people have high school or college diplomas explains why jobs calling for these qualifications have been increasing so fast. This sounds a bit odd, but perhaps it is clarified in the next point.

(4) The availability of large numbers of high school and college graduates makes it possible for foremanships and supervisory jobs that once used to go to floor workers in the factory or office workers to be given to management trainees. Work layout, loading plans, and other jobs that require "knowledge power" are being split off from the hand power parts of the task and given to the better schooled workers. This downgrades the manual worker even more.

But why in a nation proud of its schools and school laws do we have men and women who are illiterate, literally and functionally? The average American citizen, caught by a pollster on the street, would have thought that illiteracy had been wiped out in the country long ago.

We are then told that illiteracy and the school dropouts are caused by cultural deprivation: that the home life and community life of the Negro, especially in the South but often in the North, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Mountain Hollow

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DR. BROUDY *is Professor of Philosophy of Education at the University of Illinois. Dr. Broudy has written extensively. His books have included* Building a Philosophy of Education (Second Edition) *and* Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education (Co-author).

[1]Prepared for delivery at the Articulation Conference, Allerton House, University of Illinois, February 21, 1965.

[2]So voluminous and diverse has the literature become that a clearing house for it is already in operation at the Yeshiva College in New York City. A report on "The Research Relevance of Desegregation," by Meyer Weinberg, delivered at the New England Conference on Educational Research, Rhode Island College, Providence, November 27-28, contained a reference list of 120 items.

The Disadvantaged Child: Primary Group Training for Secondary Group Life

by Lloyd B. Lueptow

THIS PAPER will attempt to review some of the factors in the social background and personality of the disadvantaged child that are held by various students of the problem to have an effect upon the school success of these children. In addition, it will attempt an interpretation of some of the evidence, which to the present time has not been adequately exploited. Thus, the following discussion will be more concerned with stating the problem in social psychological terms than it will be with solutions, although some suggestions will be made in conclusions regarding possible ameliorative programs.

In a paper of this length, and in view of the number of different factors involved, it will be impossible to do more than list and briefly describe each of them. For the reader not satisfied with a bare bones approach of this sort, this paper will utilize fairly extensive citations of sources in which more complete discussions can be found.

From a social psychological point of view the basic problem of the disadvantaged is that children who receive their initial training in one subculture are expected to behave satisfactorily in a different one. This is more commonly stated as the problem of lower class children and middle class norms. It is worth noting that this problem is a completely relative one in that the disadvantaged child has problems, not because he is a lower class child, but because there is a middle class system that apprises him and by and large does so negatively.

The school is critical in this process because it is the first major agency of the dominant subculture with which the lower class child has contact (1, 2, 10, 26, 19, 23). Given the nature of the school's social function, its role is contradictory in that it is both a barrier and a channel to the lower class child's entrance into the middle class system. As it applies to the "middle class measuring rod" (10), it operates as a barrier; but as it supplements, modifies, and corrects lower class socialization, it operates as a channel.

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Who Are The Disadvantaged?

Before proceeding any further a word should be said about the disadvantaged population, namely, who are they? This paper, as do others, proposes to beg this question by defining the group in a manner that permits us to draw upon a considerable body of evidence about the American social class structure. Thus, this paper will treat the disadvantaged population as those socioeconomic levels whose children tend to do poorly in school, who are more likely to be underachievers and dropouts, and who terminate their education with high school graduation (11, 26, 29). These socioeconomic levels are those at the bottom of the hierarchical structure, referred to variously as lower class, working class, blue collar, or occasionally simply as the bottom one-fifth. The reader should note, however, that while the disadvantaged are located as empirically distinct subcultural populations within the total social structure, equating them with low socioeconomic status populations is the only feasible approach to the existing evidence. Finally, this paper tends to follow the literature based on occupational structures rather than racial or ethnic structures and will consider the problems of racial minority groups to be different only in degree from those of majority lower class groups. It will assume that the additional burdens imposed upon the individual child by prejudice and discrimination are not qualitatively different in their effects than the burdens imposed by the application of the middle class norms to the lower class personality among all groups. It will assume that social class is more important than race or ethnicity in these processes as it is in socialization (Davis).

The Social Psychological Nature of Disadvantage

Turning now to the social-psychological nature of the lower class disadvantage, it appears that it adopts three forms: (1) the specific content of lower class value-orientations and life

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Two Curriculum Proposals for Programs for the Disadvantaged

Compensatory Language Arts Programs for Disadvantaged Children

by Walter J. Moore

THE PROBLEMS faced in devising language arts programs for disadvantaged children are multi-dimensional but not insurmountable. Clearly the tasks confronting teachers in elementary schools wherever these may be located are not all centered on the language arts. But many of them are. Being responsible for teaching the language arts in the elementary grades means that a teacher is expected to advance pupils' skills in reading, oral and written expression, grammar, spelling, handwriting, listening, and literature. Clearly, elementary teachers need all the resources that can be placed at their disposal.

Although there is by no means universal agreement regarding the wisdom of combining so many and such diverse skills as those mentioned, there is agreement that the ties that bind these skills together are stronger than the forces which would have them taught as separate subjects. Just as in the social studies, educators have come to realize that one cannot teach reading, oral and written language, grammar, spelling, handwriting, listening, and literature anymore than one can teach geography, history, economics, and the like as separates. Although there have been moves to unscramble the social studies, and the language arts as well, there seems to be but little question that they will continue to be offered as at present, at least in most of our elementary schools.

In this article consideration will be given to: (1) the problems faced; (2) what the child brings to the school; (3) ways of meeting the needs of children requiring compensatory language arts programs, particularly in the reading areas; (4) who can help in such programs; and (5) the need for perspective in planning ahead.

The Problems Faced in Curriculum Development in Language Arts Areas

The term *compensatory education* refers to educational programs, techniques, and projects designed to overcome the deficiencies of children from culturally disadvantaged homes. Terms such as *culturally deprived* and *culturally disadvantaged* have been criticized as being derogatory if not downright insulting to those deemed to be in the state or of the status described. What is really meant by writers is that in certain cultures there is a definite lack of conversation or intellectual communication which would help to train children for reading and writing programs in schools, both urban and rural. Many agencies have sought to define areas in need of compensatory education in order to achieve equality of educational opportunities and quality education for all children. Three factors are commonly selected as bases for the identification of districts most in need of compensatory education programs: family income, educational status of adults, and percentages of overage pupils.

It is not uncommon to encounter the term *undereducated,* or more commonly, the *undereducated adult* or the *undereducated worker.* These terms seem to be somewhat more acceptable or less offensive to those individuals who are so designated. But regardless of the term employed, such writers as Gregory[1] have observed that there are now over 30 million educationally disadvantaged workers in the United States. One million are totally illiterate, 10 million are semiliterate, and 20 million, although literate, do not have educational qualifications to compete in today's labor market.

> The high school diploma has become a necessity in most lines of work. In terms of the labor market, then, we are probably safe in describing all persons who have an elementary but not a high-school education as undereducated. In 1960 there were 20 million such workers in the United States labor force. The 10 million workers without an elementary education would re-

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DR. MOORE *is a Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. He is chairman of the Elementary Section and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English. He was a consultant for the* 1965 *I.S.U. Summer Institute which dealt with teaching reading to disadvantaged children.*

[1]Francis A. Gregory, "The Undereducated Man," *Education Digest,* XXX (December, 1964), p. 19. (Reported from *FOCUS,* the Yearbook of the National Association for Public School Adult Education, Washington, D.C., 1955, pp. 75-84).

Curriculum Innovations for Disadvantaged Elementary Children—What Should They Be?

by Mildred B. Smith

Introduction and Guidelines

THE TYPICAL elementary school program does not meet the needs of disadvantaged children because it is founded on the assumption that each child is predisposed to learning what is offered. Children from impoverished backgrounds are not, however, predisposed to learning this curriculum for several reasons:

(1) Inadequate language skills—listening and speaking.
(2) Poor work habits.
(3) Poor physical health.
(4) Frequent tardiness and/or absenteeism.
(5) Inadequate model figures in the home and community.
(6) Unfamiliar content in textbooks.
(7) Inadequate motivation.
(8) Initial school failure, caused by the above factors, which damage self-esteem and self-confidence.

Planning a program for the disadvantaged is challenging, and it raises many questions for school people. "If the traditional school program is inadequate, what modifications should be made for these children?" "What about charges made by Civil Rights leaders that curriculum changes in schools in ghetto-type communities, when modified, are 'watered down'?" How do we meet the needs of these children without lowering standards?" is a question which baffles many educators.

It appears to this writer that a school program for disadvantaged children would be similar in many ways to a good typical elementary school program, and yet there would be differences. We would agree that *any* good elementary school has qualified, competent teachers, capable administrative leadership, adequate library facilities, and sufficient quantities of books and other instructional materials for the number of children enrolled in the school. The program in the school for disadvantaged children would be different since these children have deficiencies which will not be adequately met in the typical program. The program for disadvantaged elementary children is therefore compensatory—to compensate for deficiencies of environmental origin. It not only includes additional personnel, resources, facilities, and administrative innovations; but it requires innovations in the day school program as well.

DR. SMITH *is a General Elementary Consultant, Flint (Michigan) Community Schools and a consultant for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. She was a co-author of the I.S.U. reading institute for teachers of disadvantaged children, summer,* 1965.

Class Size Needs To Be Reduced

The class size should reflect these children's need for special attention. They require more attention from teachers because they lack self-confidence, have difficulty following directions, have little motivation, use materials poorly, and are underachievers. Little can be accomplished if teachers must work with these children in large groups. Class size in schools with a concentration of disadvantaged children should be considerably smaller than for other schools within the same school system. Classes should be smaller for primary chidren than for later elementary children within the same building. Although it is difficult to designate a numerical figure, many educators agree that all classes should be under twenty-five, and primary classes should be considerably less than twenty-five.

Teaching Staff Should Be Stabilized

Inexperienced staff members and a high staff turnover, characteristic of many schools for disadvantaged children, undermine attempts at program improvement. Experienced teachers and principals in the same school system should be reassigned so as to give equal strength and stability to each elementary school.

Special Services And Resources Are Needed

Disadvantaged children have many problems which require special attention. A large portion of the teacher's time is therefore consumed with non-teaching activities brought about by health and behavioral problems, tardiness and absentee-

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Special Centers for the Disadvantaged

The Child Development Center:

A Program to Provide Children a "Head Start" in Life and Implications for Primary Education

by Catherine R. Hudson

LET ME SAY how very gratified I am to have this opportunity to share with you some ideas and plans which are not really new, but which have been generally outside the realm of public school experience or at least a practical impossibility for most of us in our normal teaching situations.

These beliefs have been embodied in the concept of the Child Development Center by the individuals who have had the opportunity to design the program known as Project HEAD START. Perhaps we need to clarify what we mean by project Head Start. It now has two connotations. Basically, Head Start refers to the opportunity given to disadvantaged preschool children and their families to participate in a comprehensive, year-round Child Development Center program to give them a "head start" in warding off the damaging effects of poverty, whether it be poverty of health, food, human relationships, material necessities, or opportunities for rich learning experiences.

The original intent of the Head Start planners was to set up a few demonstration centers this summer to illustrate the type of program they hoped to be achieved. However, as the idea developed, many communities wanted to take part in the summer program. In a more restricted sense, then, Head Start refers to the beginning step, the six to eight week programs which some 2400 communities are now engaged in across the country for families of children who will enter school this fall. These are being supported by the Community Action Program of the Economic Opportunity Act to get Child Development Center programs started at a time when communities are most likely to have the personnel and the space available to do it. It is hoped that these communities are now planning proposals and ways to continue these programs on a year-round basis if they have not already done so.

If you have read any of the Washington releases about Project Head Start, you have heard the names of Dr. Julius B. Richmond and Dr. Robert E. Cooke, both of whom are pediatricians. Dr. Richmond has served as Head of the Medical School at Syracuse, Dr. Cooke as Chief-Pediatrician at John Hopkins Hospital and School of Medicine. Other members of the planning committee are from the fields of Social Work, Psychiatry, Psychology, Public Health Nursing, and Nutrition. I do not have to introduce to you James Hymes, Professor of Child Development and Early Childhood Education, University of Maryland, who was our host during Head Start Orientation, or Keith Osborne from the Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development who has served as an early childhood curriculum consultant.

These are people who could have said "No," who could have declined the call to sacrifice their own comfortable and satisfying practices to become administrators of a program which seemed almost insurmountable and which required an al-

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MRS. HUDSON *is an Assistant Professor of Child Development and Family Life at Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana.* *This is an edited manuscript of a speech presented to the I.S.U. reading institute for teachers of disadvantaged children, summer,* 1965.

The Indianapolis Center:
Report on Teacher Preparation Program for Indianapolis Pre-School Centers

By Lucille Ingalls

The Indianapolis Pre-School Centers, Incorporated was initiated about a year ago by a small group of citizens. They recognized the need for providing worthwhile learning experiences for three and four year old children residing in the "inner city" areas of Indianapolis. This group developed an extensive proposal to be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. Acceptance of their proposal provided funds for the selection of a number of learning sites to be staffed by teachers and teachers aides. Within the proposed structure a program for teacher preservice and inservice training was provided. It was hoped that these services would provide ever-broadening educational ideas and methods (based on information gained from the current literature, audio-visual materials, experienced teachers, accounts of other programs, and the latest research) enabling each teacher to become stronger and better able to cope with the myriad of problems related to child growth and development. It was also recognized that such services would be beneficial in any orientation for teachers but certainly *must* be included here.

Preservice Program

Prior to the opening of the pre-school centers, scheduled for September, 1965, an eight week training session was established in order to prepare the teachers and school community workers as adequately as possible for their work with three and four year old children. Plans were made for the following: field work experience, professional reading, inspirational and informational consultants, exposure to community resources, group discussion, use of audio-visual materials, individual conferences, and a never-ending opportunity for feedback from the participants in order to keep communication going and evaluation a constant point from which the formulation of future plans would evolve. I cannot stress too much the importance of evaluation which is never the end of something but rather the point at which more planning should come into being. Planning is often unwieldy and frustrating when a newly formed group gets together to organize a new venture. It is only when basic commonalities are established that group planning can be carried out. I have found that such planning is now beginning to unfold in smaller groups and should be most ready for productive implementation soon after our inservice sessions get underway.

In order to incorporate the field work into the program, arrangements were made to have the participants do their field work with the Head-start classroom teacher and school social workers. This work was done in the morning. Afternoons were spent in group work for the purpose of discussing topics based on their experiences in the field. Concurrently, for the teachers, the afternoon sessions were also devoted to the presentation of classroom skills covering such areas as language arts, music, art, physical education, science, and so forth. This arrangement made it possible for the trainees to try out the various skills and techniques as they were presented. Any problems encountered could then be discussed and handled as the needs arose. It was posible for each participant to operate at his/her own level of development and through discussion to gain more and newer ideas and to become more confident in working with children.

During this period we also introduced consultants in the fields of child growth and development, community organization, environmental implications for learning, family-school relationships, child psychiatry, language development, and small group work skills. Efforts were made to have these presentations at times which seemed most propitious for group needs and acceptance. Since it was not always possible to anticipate the tenor of the group, whenever possible the speaker indicated alternate dates, in the understanding that due to the dynamics of the group a pre-arranged time might not be the "right" time nor the proper

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An Appeal for Teacher Commitment. . .

The Elementary Teacher and the Disadvantaged—Bug in a Tub

By Paul W. Koester

TEACH THE disadvantaged children. This is a moral mandate which comes to the schools in part from the leadership of the President and the financial support passed by the Congress in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 as a significant part of the war on poverty. Under this act school administrators will be submitting proposals for available funds for the initiation of new programs to improve the learning potential of disadvantaged children. These programs will include many innovations: earlier instruction for preschool children, supplementary instruction during evenings and summers, cultural and language enrichment, school-home cooperation, community resources utilization, reduced teacher-pupil ratio, and new instructional materials and programs. Yet the obvious, critical factor upon which the success of compensatory programs is dependent is the capacity, energy, and commitment of a teacher to make innovations in the classroom, innovations which will significantly enhance disadvantaged children's opportunities to learn and be successful in school.

Although large proportions of disadvantaged children tend to be concentrated in particular areas and consequently school buildings within urban centers, many disadvantaged children are distributed among both urban and rural school districts outside the target areas for compensatory programs. In these critical urban centers of high concentration of disadvantaged children, special compensatory programs may be implemented by teams of supervisors and teachers specifically trained to marshall their energies and resources for a concerted attack upon the problems encountered in assisting disadvantaged children to learn and achieve school success.

Preservice and inservice professional preparation for teaching children from disadvantaged homes and community are essential for the successful fulfilling of the mandate, "Teach the disadvantaged children." For this reason funds are available for preservice and inservice preparation of teachers in programs such as the NDEA institute. However even though the need for professional preparation is recognized and some programs for inservice training are being made available through federal, state, and local efforts, the majority of the teachers will not have the time or opportunity in the foreseeable future to prepare themselves in any formally organized programs for teaching the disadvantaged children they meet daily in their classrooms. The mandate is not just to the teachers with special training; the mandate comes clearly to all teachers. The schools have collectively committed all teachers to improve the earning potentials of all children, especially those categorized as disadvantaged. School leaders and committees will acquire funds for new programs and materials for the teaching of the disadvantaged; the successful implementation of the programs will be the responsibility of the individual classroom teacher without special training, with little guidance and evaluation, monitored only by the desire to do his best, and motivated by an idealistic expectation that he can teach every child. The classroom teacher will have to make a deliberate, personal commitment to improve instruction for the disadvantaged children with whom he is already acquainted in his classroom, in the same school staffed by the selfsame personnel, under almost identical administrative policy, within the context of the same community norms and expectation as he is presently teaching. The teacher will have to bring new life to the classroom for disadvantaged children within a current, ongoing program.

In reflecting upon the situation faced by teachers striving to better teach disadvantaged children, the writer is reminded of an incident which well illustrates the limitations within which teachers seek to teach every child.

Under particular conditions communities within the midwest are almost inundated with the plague of boxelder bugs. Even though doors and

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An Appeal for Teacher Sensitivity. . .

More Tender Hearts

by Clara and Morey Appell

To Communicate

WHEREVER IT occurs on earth, to reach the heart of another is to communicate. Whatever the language or geographical location, first there must be a meeting of hearts before the mind can be stirred, can hear, and genuinely can learn. At a historical moment when we have accepted the challenge of reexamining the meaning of a public education which reaches *all*, there is generally greater concern about our capacity to communicate effectively and learn the whole child.

In recent years, "sensitivity training" has come to be a descriptive phrase referring to efforts devoted toward helping individuals to enhance their capacity to sense, to feel, and hopefully to understand more about themselves as well as others. Participants in such sensitivity education activities are encouraged to explore their own perceived impressions of self and to attempt to capture the meaning of the perceived impressions experienced by others.

Increasingly "sensitivity training" has become recognized as worthwhile for those who would help disadvantaged children in meaningful ways. Essentially for us, helping those who teach to grow in sensitivity suggests the emergence of "more tender hearts." We suggest the "tender hearts" in the hope that it will convey the special quality of one who is capable of experiencing and conveying a feeling of "caring" or a "valuing" relationship with each child.

Those who work theoretically and actively to assist others to achieve "tender hearts" have found themselves selectively focusing on efforts to elicit for the participants the achievement of a reasonable degree of self-understanding, increasing self-awareness, desire for self-knowledge, and hopefully a greater acceptance of self. With the personal exploration of self, there appears to be the possibility of an enriched appreciation of one's strengths as well as a more realistic acceptance and understanding of one's frailities. This intimate journey into one's selfhood then appears to help the traveler to feel more able to experience identity with others. As we come to know ourselves more fully, it becomes increasingly possible to feel closer to others.

The quest for self-knowledge was given voice by Socrates about 2,000 years ago when he advised, "Know thyself." Nor is self-awareness a purely philosophic quest. It is an effort written large in the poetry, drama, literature, and religion of humanity. Almost anywhere one touches, Sophocles, Shakespeare, John Milton, Jean-Paul Sartre, and others, one comes upon the quest for meaning of self. Within this century, Sigmund Freud's magnificent effort to explore the impact of the unconscious forces was predicated upon a belief in the assumption that man could come to achieve greater rationality and thus control of himself. More recent behavioral scientists focusing on self and self-knowledge have included Arthur Jersild, Abraham Maslow, Lawrence S. Kubie, and Carl R. Rogers. In diverse ways, and out of differing theoretical orientations, each of these scholars accepts the powerful import of self-understanding in the educative process.

Compassion for Self and Others

Varying life experiences appear to imbue some persons with a seemingly natural sensitivity for self and others. Those of us not so fortunate may find beneficial a more directed group effort. The more sensitive individual may find some meaningful value in the sharing within a group that can help him to see he is not alone. At times one's personal sensitivity can be understood better and appreciated for the depth of experiencing it can help elicit in compassionate concern for others. The overly sensitive person may come to discover clues about possible origins and worthwhile ef-

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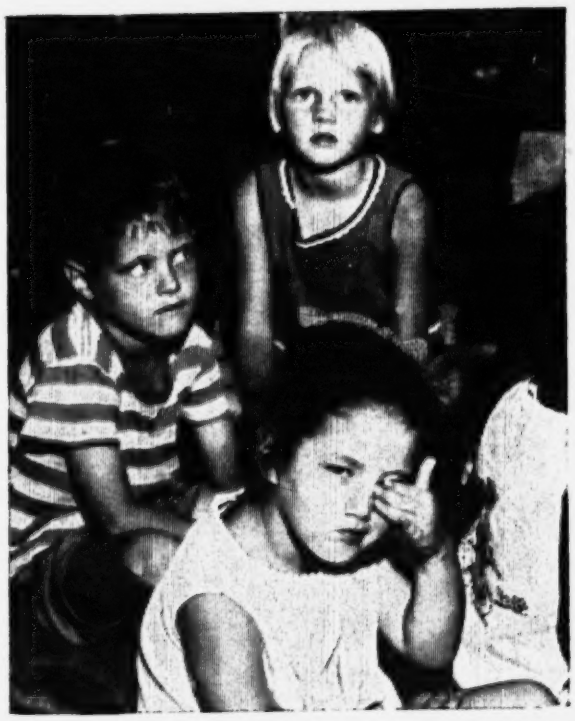
Home Visitations Open Doors. . .

A Teacher Visits the Homes of Disadvantaged Children

by Ann Williams



"I DON'T WANT my little boy to be ignorant like me."

These were the penetrating words of a mother whose child is culturally disadvantaged. These were the words of a mother who cares about her child and wants something better in life for him than she has had.

After making visits to the homes of culturally disadvantaged children, I was convinced that such parents are deeply interested in their children's future. But the lives of the parents are so complex. How do you plan for the future when you are swallowed up in just surviving? How do you think of getting ahead when your thoughts are necessarily limited to getting enough food for the next meal? Merely existing is a full-time task!

Would culturally disadvantaged parents send their children to school during the summer? After explaining that this was a special program to help their child, the parents agreed—were even pleased—for their children to attend.

There are scheduled parent conferences during the regular school year. However, the parents I visited were the ones that usually did not come for conferences. These culturally disadvantaged parents didn't come to school because they had small children at home. The parents were embarrassed by the clothes they had to wear. Often, the parents' own school experiences had been unpleasant. If schools are to be successful in helping disadvantaged children, maybe teachers should go to children's homes instead of asking parents to come to school.

The parents told how hard they try to do the best they can for their children. One mother said, "The only thing I could do for the kids last summer was take them swimming three times. I wanted to do more. There just isn't enough money to do nice things. I'll be glad they can come to summer school and have a good time."

Where do the parents of culturally disadvantaged children look for help and for the better things in life for their children? For many of these families, school is the most important social institution with which they have contact. They look to the school not only for education; they seek guidance and leadership for all phases of living. They are dependent people not wanting the school's pity, but they do want the school's help.

The parents of culturally disadvantaged children have confidence in school and in teachers. When I explained the summer program would help their child, they said, "If you think school will be good for my child, then I want him to go." Their confidence in me as a teacher and in the school stirred a sense of humility and responsibility within me.

The warmth with which I was received expressed their feelings. As I walked from the car to the house, the children shouted, "Hey, the teacher's here." Before I could even introduce myself, the mother opened the door and asked me in. I was invited for supper; I had popcorn balls; I was offered a kitten; I was given a shell. All were wonderful gestures on the part of these parents to show me that I was truly welcome.

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The children were delighted when their mothers said they could come to the special summer program. Immediately they began questioning, "Well, is it tomorrow?" or "Is it next week?" or "How long is it?" Then, younger or older brothers and sisters would ask, "Can I go, too?" The children wanted to come to school, and they were excited about it.

Young children want to learn and want to come to school. How often culturally disadvantaged children come and meet failure! By the time these children are in fourth or fifth grade, they often remark, "I hate school." School work is made to be something that they cannot achieve; their great desire to learn is destroyed; and they do not want to come to school. The school has not provided for their needs.

An important part of my home visit was listening to the mothers. They wanted very much to talk, not always about school, not always about their children. I did not answer, "I know how it feels to be poor." I didn't know how it felt to sleep on a raw mattress without bed linens. But the mother and I did have one thing in common—the welfare of her child.

When I left the house, a flock of children was usually waiting for me outside. They asked, "Are you coming to my house?" If I had to tell them "No," the disappointed look on their faces gave me a guilt complex. I was the Pied Piper walking back to my car with my followers holding my hand or hanging on to my dress. Driving home, I tried to think of the kinds of experiences the school needs to provide for these culturally disadvantaged children.

Each morning as they greeted me in the classroom with their smiles, I wanted to ask them, "How can I help you?" If only we were perceptive enough to understand what they tell us, we would know.[1]

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[1]A special class was conducted in The Laboratory School to provide observation and participation experiences for teachers enrolled in the I.S.U. reading institute organized to help teachers teach disadvantaged children. Four centers were also developed in the city of Terre Haute for the I.S.U. reading institute for teachers of disadvantaged children, summer, 1965.

Guideposts for Love and Understanding

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understandings are over, let us hope and trust they can become "bygones."

(10) *Teachers and parents can help children to face the realities of life.*

Without burdening children, we can be honest about family problems, social problems, disappointments, death, etc. This can be done in terms of the age level and understanding of the child.

(11) *Children can be helped to develop a wholesome sense of humor.*

The smile and the laugh are the vitamins of emotional health. Realistic optimism and humor can make many a problem lighter. Besides, adults can enjoy and share the spontaneous delights of children.

(12) *Each child is unique in his own right and his intrinsic worth.*

It is best to avoid comparing children in the same class, the same or different families. Every child develops and grows at his own individual pace. Growth may not be even in all directions.

(13) *All who work with children must recognize that all behavior is caused.*

There are reasons for everything that happens. However, those who help children must recognize they are human and possess frailties —and avoid expecting impossible perfection. Then, too, every adult who works or lives with children is not a trained psychologist or psychiatrist and cannot attempt to constantly analyze and interpret all behavior.

(14) *Children grow through certain basic developmental stages with unique variations for each one.*

Some walk at nine months and others walk at eighteen months; some sit at five months. Emotional growth finds its own rhythm too. If you cannot be immature at four, five, six, or seven, when can you?

(15) *Every stage of growth is important. All of life is important.*

Let us help children to feel that we love them as they are: boy or girl, baby or toddler or school age child, slim or heavy, light or dark. It is good to be what you are if others help you to feel valued that way and to see life in that manner. The challenge is ours.

Schooling for the Culturally Deprived

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Folks and their like create successive generations of candidates for the relief rolls, broken families, potential lawbreakers, unemployables, and the like. It is generally agreed that the term "socially disadvantaged" covers a low educational level of the parents, low income, meager experience with the environment beyond the home, poor housing, poor health, and broken or incomplete families. Presumably children from such families and in such surroundings do not develop enough linguistically or conceptually to benefit from ordinary schooling, or at least their talking and thinking are not what the school expects of them. Furthermore, the desire to learn and even to be in school is feeble when compared to that of the culturally replete child.[3] Yet some research shows that many lower-class Negro mothers have high educational aspirations for their children.[4]

So much, I believe, is by now familiar; and it has been made clear that schooling is the wedge that will break the vicious chain. We are promised that there will be huge sums for the retraining of the adult, the improvements of his environment, and a massive attack on the resistance to learning now found in the children due to the cultural deprivation, which is caused by poverty, which is caused by ignorance, which is caused by cultural deprivation.

Powerful a tool as education is, and granting that it is to be the growth industry of the future, one should not be carried away. Education enables us to exploit social and economic potentialities, but it cannot create these potentialities, certainly not all of them. The State of California, we are told, has invested heavily in schooling; but it did not of itself create the airplane and other industries nor the tremendous immigration of citizens into that state that makes schooling so usable. Education is the most promising long-term weapon in fighting poverty and its consequences because conditions are just about right for the investment to pay off.

As one reads and listens one is inevitably reminded that this is not the first time in history that education has been elected to redeem the lowly and unfortunate child. Several outstanding examples come to mind. One was Johann Heinhich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), the famous Swiss educator, who saw in education a way of redeeming the misery and depravity of the poor, especially the poor in the mills.

Pestalozzi wanted to regenerate the culturally deprived by producing in each child a deep sense of worth and dignity in making him aware of his own powers. To do so he founded several schools for indigent children in which literacy, manual skills, and character reformation through "family" love were to be featured. This was a pattern that many others, including some of our contemporaries, were to follow.

These efforts were failures; Pestalozzi's schools at Burgdorf and Yverdon were successful only when they became showcases for new methods of teaching the well-to-do rather than redeeming the indigent. And Pestalozzi was discouraged as much by the indifference of his wretched beneficiaries as by that of the rich benefactors.

Just as the 18th century was drawing to a close, Robert Owen (1771-1858), director of large cotton mills at New Lanark in Scotland, undertook to improve the morals and living conditions of the laboring class in the community. Especially noteworthy is that Owen started with infant schools for children five to ten years of age. It should also be recalled that in 1802 Parliament enacted its first compulsory education law entitled "An Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others Employed in Cotton and other Mills, and Cotton and other Factories." Section 6 of the law stipulated that every apprentice should receive instruction for part of the working day in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or either of them."[5]

Both in Britain and the United States the common school movement had its first proddings from the problem of orphans and the children of the wretched poor. Since these children could not possibly be provided for by their parents, the only recourse was to private or public charity; and public charity, of course, was achieved by taxation.

In the same vein recall the work of August Hermann Francke, a German pietist of the 17th cen-

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[3]Robert J. Havighurst, *Public Schools of Chicago* (Chicago: The Board of Education, 1964), p. 57.

[4]Robert R. Bell, "Lower Class Negro Mothers and Their Children," *Integrated Education*, December 1964-January 1965 (Philadelphia).

[5]Frederick Eby and C. F. Arrowood, *The Development of Modern Education* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), pp. 614ff.

tury in Halle, Germany. He also was committed to the notion that the regeneration of the poor could be accomplished by education. Nor need we recount the efforts of both the Catholic and Protestant churches in various countries to rescue the poor through preaching and teaching.

Whatever good these efforts accomplished, they did little to diminish the problems of poverty; for every branch snatched from the burning, a dozen brushfires sprang up to replace them. The good effects, as a matter of fact, were not in the reduction of poverty, but rather in providing experience and precedents for the establishment of a common, tax-supported, compulsory school system.

So the recognition of poverty as a cause of social evil and the recourse to education to remedy it are hardly new. Why were these attempts not successful? Chiefly because human labor was regarded as a commodity to be bought as cheaply and exploited as much as possible. For a long time the factory system tried to live up to Karl Marx's description of it. Marx had argued that capitalism must exploit labor and keep it at a subsistence level, because profit was produced by the extra hours of labor, over and above those needed to produce an article, that the employer could extort free of charge from the laborer. In early capitalistic factory production, poverty was regarded as necessary to profit, and cheap labor was the instrument of industrial progress. The resultant human misery and degradation were deplored by good Christians; but since the laws of supply and demand were regarded by economists as having the status of Newton's laws of motion, industrialists did not really believe poverty and exploitation could or should be prevented. They did feel obligated by Christian principles to relieve it by charity. Philanthropy was expected of the wealthy, and often it was forthcoming; but not only could the 18th and 19th centuries tolerate large pockets of poverty, they could not seem to flourish without them. As for the children of the poor, education was designed to give them a vocational skill, a willingness to work, and a strong belief that in heaven social injustices would be abolished and their patience rewarded. Even so liberal a thinker as John Locke saw nothing more as necessary for them.

Our problem in many ways resembles that of previous ages, but in one important respect it differs, viz., in the fact that the ranks of the socially disadvantaged include disproportionately large numbers of people who have been victims of color discrimination. In addition to improving their economic lot, these people have to fight segregation that prevents them from achieving a means to better themselves. So far as educational opportunity is concerned the American problem is so closely interwoven with segregated and integrated schools that it is unrealistic to make believe that the problem of the disadvantaged white is the same as that of the disadvantaged Negro.

If all these historical efforts to redeem the culturally deprived—by education—failed, what reasons do we have to believe that we can succeed now?

New Factors Increase the Nation's Concerns

The new factor in today's concern with education of the culturally deprived is not a more sensitive conscience, but rather a set of circumstances that makes poverty in large pockets economically disastrous, militarily dangerous, and politically inexpedient.

It is economically disastrous, because in a large-scale mechanized industrial society production tends to outstrip consumption. The rich can step up their spending for luxuries, but this is not enough. Large amounts of mass-produced staples and luxuries must be disposed of at a profit, so the poor also must be given enough to buy the product of our industrial machine. In other words, people who cannot produce and consume at a high rate are not only an intolerable economic burden; they are positively subversive of the total economic enterprise.

Likewise, our modern mechanized, electronized, atomicized military machine cannot operate with functionally illiterate soldiers or civilians. We cannot fight or threaten to fight wars without huge cadres of highly skilled workmen, automation notwithstanding.

Finally, it happens to be a fact that the poor have votes or, in the new nations, guns and that all over the world they threaten to use votes or guns to get their share of the good life. Social conditions are on the side of social justice, and this makes the current attack on the problem more promising than ever before. For happy is the nation that can afford to realize its ideals.

Another factor that militates in favor of success is that the suggested remedies strike at social conditions that give rise to deprivation. For example, a significant feature of the current move on the problem is the attention being given to the preschool child, on the theory that intervention

has the greatest effect at this period.[6] It makes sense to render the children more educable—if, at the same time, we modify the homes and neighbors so that schooling takes hold. This social assist the earlier reformers did not have. Our current approaches, while resembling a clutch of bandwagons rushing off in all directions, may yet verify Gunnar Myrdal's hypothesis. That noted student of the Negro problem insisted that real social change comes when the equivalent of a chain reaction sets in; when laws, education, job opportunities, and moral fervor all reciprocally intensify their effect. We seem to be approaching that state of affairs in dealing with the culturally disadvantaged.

Some Reflections

What then remains to be said on this problem? Much, no doubt, but I shall confine myself to a few reflections.

First of all, it occurs to me that the teaching of disadvantaged children and the administration of such schools should be professionalized, and that the recruitment and training of teachers and other personnel be organized on that basis. Much as I share the general admiration for the Peace Corps, much as I applaud the efforts of college students to tutor Negro children, and much as I believe in the power of money bonuses, I would rather not place all my bets on any one of them or all of them.

Much as a Dr. Schweitzer or a Dr. Dooley have accomplished, a large corps of professionally competent but relatively uninspired physicians would have accomplished even more. Talented and dedicated amateurs achieve impressive results and do marvelous things, especially when they feel like it. They benefit mankind as a whole only if they inspire an army of relatively prosaic but professionally competent professionals to succeed them.

Making the teaching of disadvantaged children in disadvantaged schools attractive to competent personnel is not essentially a different task from making other socially valuable but ordinary unpleasant tasks vocationally acceptable. Undertaking, cleaning of sewers, garbage removal, and taking care of the sick and the aged belong in this category. Policemen, firemen, clergymen, doctors, and lawyers from time to time have to deal with aspects of life that are ugly and revolting.

How are such callings and tasks made tolerable and even honorable? First by routinization, *i.e.*, knowing how to deal with them step by step with predetermined procedures. An imperfect routine is better than no routine. At a time when educators turn their noses up at anything that is not creative, routine is not exciting; but for that very reason children and teachers may value the security routine affords, especially if we are to believe that these children often regard the schoolroom as a real or symbolic threat. Anyone who has seen a nurse clean up a sick patient two or three times within an hour realizes that it is routine procedure—one step following another according to a fixed rule—and skill that carries her through what would drive most of us screaming out of the room. One can be sure that the nurse brings in the pretty flowers and puts them into a vase with more pleasure than she cleans up a retching patient; but she routinizes both, just as she routinizes the taking of temperatures and joshing with elderly gentlemen.

However, routinization by itself is not enough to make an unpleasant task attractive to an intelligent worker. Dependable routines may make practical nursing tolerable but not the practice of medicine. Examining feces under a microscope and emptying bedpans differ primarily in the intellectual quality of the tasks being performed. A surgeon and a butcher both cut and manipulate blood and tissue, but the vocational difference is enormous. Intellectualization is a great transformer of occupational valence. It is not so much the intrinsic unpleasantness of a calling that repels intelligent prospective practitioners as its lack of intellectual quality, its low demand on the person's cognitive powers. This is especially important if the persons we hope to attract to teaching the disadvantaged classroom are to have good brains as well as a strong sense of social service.

Routine and intellectualization provide the depersonalization that makes it possible for us to deal with emotionally charged situations efficiently. If we feel the pain of the patient, the misery of the pupil or the world too keenly, we cannot do our best in relieving these evils. Some situations are so painful to those personally involved in them that society has developed classes of people who do what must be done without personal involvement. Teaching the difficult pupil in a difficult environment is one such situation. How to maintain concern for the child without becoming a parental or sibling substitute is an especially

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[6] H. Knobloch and B. Pascamanick, "Environmental Factors Affecting Human Development Before and After Birth," *Pediatrics* (August, 1960), also H. Knobloch and B. Pascamanick, "The Relationship of Race and Sociometric Status to the Development of Motor Behavior Patterns in Infancy," *Social Aspects of Psychiatry*, American Psychiatric Association, Psychiatric Research Reports No. 10 (December, 1958).

ticklish problem for the teacher. If teachers are to love pupils, it cannot be in the ordinary meaning of love.

Teaching the culturally deprived child, especially when it is a child from a poor slum environment, can be unpleasant; but I dare say that the unpleasantness of dirty appearance and other stigmata of poverty are not the most important repellents to the prospective teacher. More important are the frustrations that go with inadequate motivation, inadequate time, inadequate materials, and the amount of time that has to be spent on non-instructional activity. As a colleague of mine has said: It is the beating of one's head against a stone wall that frightens the teacher away from the disadvantaged school.

Accordingly, over and above all that training institutions can possibly hope to do by way of routinization and intellectualization, there remains the task for the community and the school administrator to provide the conditions under which the trained teacher can function profitably, both psychologically and educationally.

My second set of remarks have to do with the superficial plausibility of rushing into a literacy repair job-preparation type of schooling to rescue the culturally deprived child. At a time when even well-trained craftsmen are in danger of becoming displaced by automation or the obsolescence of their job skills, does it make sense to mount a massive educational effort that will place a whole generation of culturally deprived people into the lowest level of jobs? It is better, to be sure, than remaining on the relief rolls; but is it equality of educational opportunity? Is it an adequate training for the retraining that is anticipated for so many workers?

What is there to assure us that rescuing a generation from the relief rolls will automatically make them into the kind of self-respecting, cognitively sophisticated, skillful people who will rear children whom the state will not have to rescue by another crash program? Only if the children we rescue master a basic program of general education in the sciences and the humanities is there any hope of getting all segments of our society operating under their own power.

The demands of vocation, citizenship, and personal adequacy in the new society will call for 12 years of common general studies as a minimum for every citizen, including the culturally deprived. In the next few decades anyone with less than this will be culturally deprived indeed.

I agree with those who hold that the most mortal insult one can proffer a human being is to demand less from him than from his fellows. The Negro and other victims of cultural deprivation should not be tempted to settle for a second-rate set of expectations from themselves. Indeed there is evidence to the effect that their aspirations are high. Whether they can live up to these expectations cannot be known until we make good the deficiencies that prevent their true potentialities from being manifested. Differences in talent and energy will and should out, but these are not differences in the essential needs of humanity: the desire for self-determination, self-realization, and some sort of self-integration. And it is to these generic human needs that general education is directed.

So in devising the approach to the education of the culturally deprived child, let us keep the ultimate sights as high as for the rest of the population. Remedial, compensatory measures should be regarded as temporary; and we should be wary lest all the promised funds be drained off in these temporary measures. The national delusion that our way of life, our values, and aspirations are all determined by our bank account makes it all too plausible to believe that merely getting people off the relief rolls will change their modes of life, whereas it may merely enable them to finance an old mode of life from another source. Economical repleteness and cultural repleteness are not synonymous.

There is some reason to believe, on the basis of some recent studies on the motivation of lower-class adolescents, that they are not so hostile to all the values of middle-class achievements as is sometimes alleged. They do want the things the affluent society can give them; and given a reasonable skill in achieving them, there is little doubt that they can achieve them. The justification of affluence is that it makes the peculiarly human qualities of life—the intellectual, moral, aesthetic, and religious qualities—more easily realized and more widely dispersed. The job does not produce these qualities; it merely relieves the economic pressures that militate against them.

This brings me to the last observation. It is that we ought not to take for granted that the culturally deprived children may not have something that ought to be preserved as we clean them up, fatten them up, and get them jobs. It has been often noted that the upper-upper classes and the lower-lower ones have in common an indifference to what the middle classes cherish. To be sure they despise the middlers in different ways; but each enjoys a freedom from middle-class con-

ventions and morality, one because it can afford to defy them, and the other because it has nothing to lose by defying them. In matters of sex, aggression, living for the day, scorn of thrift, disdain for steady employment, love of sensual enjoyment, a desire for moving about, the very loftly and the very low resemble each other more than they do the middle class.

Now while the middle class is still the backbone of the nation, it is also the stuffed shirt of the nation. The mediocrity, the crass materialism, the status hunger, the fear of originality—all of these less admirable traits of the middle class—one should foist upon the culturally deprived with great hesitation. There is a real question here as to who is deprived and of what?

The slum child, it has been shown repeatedly, may be sophisticated within his own *milieu;* he manages shrewdly and well in a hard situation; he is tough and resourceful. It would be a shame to strip him of these admirable qualities in favor of a merely softer and more prolonged infancy. Perhaps our schools can learn from the culturally deprived how to toughen up our culturally replete youngsters and make them more self-reliant, less prone to run to their parents for the latest toy, the latest clothes, the fanciest entertainment, help in their homework, and intercession with the school authorities and even the police.

What I am saying so awkwardly is that our determination to do what we ought to have done long ago for the culturally deprived—or more precisely, what we should have done for ourselves—is a chance to look at ourselves and ask whether we of the middle classes are the true mold by which the unfortunate are to be made fortunate. Is there not a better model? There is, and it is a classless model. That model is a combination of traits hammered out by the wisdom of the ages from the great insights of the Greeks and Jews and the Christians, the science and the literature of the West, not to speak of the wisdom of the East. In this model, I dare say, the solid virtues of thrift, cleanliness, honesty, industry, and dependability will be written large; but I am equally sure that the quickness of mind and hand, the independent spirit of the gamin, the willingness to take life in its immediacy with all of its fresh flavor, the readiness to laugh, to love, and to enjoy the vividness of experience will not be missing. In equalizing educational opportunity, let it be opportunity for the best.

The Disadvantaged Child: Primary Group Training for Secondary Group Life

Continued from page 5

styles differ in significant ways from those of the middle class patterns, (2) compared to middle class performances, lower class socialization is less adequate, (3) the lower class system of interactions and relationships is characterized by what is here termed "primary group relatedness" while the dominant middle class system is one of secondary *as well as* primary interactions and relationships.

Considering first the inappropriate value-orientations and life styles, and following the practice of outlining and citing more detailed references, studies indicate lower class groups differ from middle class in several critical areas. *First,* the lower class child lives in a world where social problems appear with greater frequency than they do in the world of the middle class child (16,23). He is more likely to have viewed and/or experienced familial discord, physical violence, drug addiction, drunkenness, mental illness, crime, and delinquency. In this sense, and probably only in this sense, he comes to the school with a broader range of experiences than does the middle class child. *Secondly,* he lacks the conventional manners and courtesies of the middle class child, especially with respect to the more formalized patterns and the symbolic substitues for physical action (2). *Thirdly,* the occupational value-orientations of the adults differ in ways that devalue occupations and work. Where the middle class father tends to view work as important in itself, and to merge his personality in the occupational role, the lower class father views work as a means to other goals, seldom as an end in itself. Where the middle class father thinks in terms of occupational advancement and success, the lower class father tends to think in terms of security, activity, and the immediate gratification of consumer desires (8, 21). Closely related to the occupational value-orientations are the fourth set of distinguishing factors, the cluster of characteristics described as the achievement syndrome and delayed gratification pattern. Compared to the middle class the lower class is less achievement oriented, less concerned with individual success or with the attainment of high status or of upward mobility as a success goal (9, 14, 17, 25).

The significance of these value-orientations for the child probably centers around the factor of task-orientation. Given the differing adult orientations to occupations, work, and achievement, it is likely that the middle class child will be more task-oriented and possess greater personal competence in task contexts than will the lower class child. Learning and schoolwork are, of course, tasks.

Finally, there is evidence, although not quite as clear as the preceding, that the lower classes devalue education as an end, and value it primarily as a means to occupational success (12). As occupational success aspirations are lower in these groups and as they tend to have a quality of immediacy, the general educational aspirations of these groups are lower than those of the middle class (26). In addition, various restrictions in the perspectives of the lower class populations produce distrust for intellectualism and intellectual activity.

These differences in value-orientations and styles have implications for the meeting of the lower class child and the middle class teacher that are well summarized by Riessman (24) and need not be reviewed here. In addition, the occupational, achievement, and educational value-orientations most likely affect the academic performance of the child, both in terms of the motives, perspectives, and capacities acquired by the child in the family and in the support the school receives from the family.

The evidence on socialization is more difficult to interpret than the literature on value-orientations, but it appears that a legitimate conclusion is that lower class socialization differs both in its content and in its adequacy. As socialization involves the transmission of value-orientations from the parent to the child, the factors outlined in the preceding discussion describe some of the content of lower class socialization. Furthermore, the failure of the parents to instil such factors as achievement motivation in the early years of training is probably determinant and irremedial. The value-orientations, on the other hand, emerging in a context of symbolic interaction, are being acquired at about the age the child enters the elementary grades, and in this respect the school has the opportunity, but certainly not the resources, to supplement or modify parental socialization.

A second aspect of socialization is the transfer of control from the agents of social control to the personality of the socializee through the development of internal controls. It appears that the techniques utilized by the lower class mother are less effective than are those of the middle class mother. The result of this appears to be a greater ability on the part of the middle class to control or inhibit his impulses, and to acquire self-control and responsibility for his own behavior (4, 6, 18). To greatly oversimplify, it appears that the goal of the lower class mother is to teach the child to conform to authority and to be good in the sense of obedience while the middle class mother is more concerned with the development of the child's ability to control his own behavior and to develop personally as well as socially adequate motives (18). From the viewpoint of the school, these differences mean that the middle class child is better equipped to behave in the task-oriented context of the classroom.

If these generalizations are reasonably correct, they have somewhat contradictory implications for the problem of the disadvantaged child. On the one hand they suggest the lower class child is less well equipped to succeed in the school system because of the characteristics he has not acquired. On the other hand, if the lower class socialization is less adequate in the sense of internalizing the features of the culture, then it would appear that the school, as an agency of socialization, could function more successfully. In other words, the potential effects of the school upon the child would appear to be greater for children who have been inadequately socialized. This would, of course, assume that the schools could apply the immense resources necessary to function effectively in this capacity.

The final aspect of the disadvantage of the lower class child is what will be termed here *primary group relatedness.* While there is considerable evidence regarding the class-related nature of this factor, to this writer's knowledge, the implications for the disadvantaged child of these differences have not been developed.

The distinction between "primary" and "secondary" processes has been made by many sociologists using many different terminologies and approaching the problem at different levels of analysis (3, 7, 28). However, the heart of the distinction lies in the differences between systems of action in which the actors have internalized the patterns regulating conduct and consequently behave in terms of features of their internal personality system and, conversely, systems in which the actors behave in terms of the functional requirements of task-oriented systems and the demands imposed by these functions or tasks. This is the basic difference between the sacred and the secular. The distinction can be most easily drawn

by describing the differences at the three levels of generality: behavior, social structure, and culture.

At the behavioral level the distinction has to do basically with the source of motivational arousal. In the primary context, behavior emerges on the basis of the internal needs and motives of the actors as they pursue goals and attempt to elicit rewarding responses from other actors. This is a cathartic problem and constitutes an expressive style of behavior that usually involves a total personality. Secondary behavior emerges on the basis of the functional and task demands of the system or organization. This might be termed "behavior on demand" and involves only that segment of the actor necessary for the exhibition of the performance. From the actor's point of view this behavior is usually instrumental and is not an end in itself. Although it is a considerable oversimplification, it is reasonably correct to view primary behaviors as expressive and secondary behaviors as instrumental. It is worth noting at this point that instrumental behavior requires a degree of self-control that expressive behavior does not and that as the child moves from the family through the educational system he is forced to behave more and more in the instrumental rather than the expressive mode.

At the level of social structure and social interaction, the distinction has been most often made in the vocabulary used here, that is, primary and secondary groups and interactions. Primary groups are generally ends in themselves as they primarily serve as a locus for expressive behaviors. Members participate in these interactions as total personalities and are therefore susceptible to social control throughout all facets of their personality. The combination of the importance of these groups to the person and the scope of the person involved provide the sanctioning power that make these groups powerful agents of social control. Secondary groups, on the other hand, are seldom ends in themselves as, from the actor's point of view, they are usually instrumentalities for the attainment of other goals. (There are important exceptions to this statement that occur when the actor internalizes the patterns of an instrumental role and becomes motivationally committed to the system containing it, as do members of the professions.) As members of secondary groups ordinarily activate only those segments of their person necessary to the specialized performances of the instrumental role, these groups are much less effective in controlling the behavior of the actors. Because the secondary group ordinarily has only instrumental significance to the actor and because the group sanctions can be applied to only a segment of his person, the secondary group is always faced with tendencies toward deviation emanating from internalized needs and those behaviors sanctioned by his primary groups. This problem can most easily be seen in the context of the classroom in the school as a secondary system competes with the peers and the internalized needs of the child for control of the child's behavior. If the internalized norms and peer norms depart markedly from the norms of the secondary system, the outcome of this unequal contest for control of the child's behavior is obvious to everyone.

Finally, this distinction can also be drawn at the level of the cultural patterns themselves. The most expeditious way of putting it is to describe the patterns that define the nature of the relationships of the actors to each other. Note that the concern here is not with the content of the relationship but rather with the dimensions of the relationship itself, the very general factors defining the relevance of the actors to each other. While there may be both theoretical and empirical questions about them, the Parsonian pattern variables purport to describe these major relational dimensions (22). Their relevance for this sort of discussion is that Parsons holds them to be exhaustive of all of the relevant possibilities at this level necessary to define the relationship between actors. In this sense they describe the fundamental and central dimensions relevant to the problem of the involvement of the child with the school as a system.

The pattern variables, grouped by the primary-secondary distinction, are as follows:

primary		*secondary*
affectivity	---	affective neutrality
diffuseness	---	specificity
ascription	---	achievement
particularism	---	universalism
collectivity	---	self-orientation

The affectivity - affective neutrality distinction has been implied in the expressive - instrumental distinction in that it distinguishes situations where gratification can occur (affectivity) from situations where gratification must be postponed (affective neutrality). The former is a situation of cathectic, or expressive primacy, and the latter one of cognitive or instrumental primacy.

Diffuseness - specificity refers to the legitimate scope of the involvement of the actors with each other. The distinction is between broad involvement with the total personality of the other (diffuseness) and a more limited involvement (specifi-

city). The orientation in secondary systems is usually limited to the instrumentally relevant aspects of the other actor, that is, to his specialized performances as described by the label of his status position.

Ascription - achievement refers to the type of characteristics of the other that are to be considered by the actor in relating himself to the other. The choice here is between the qualities of the other (ascription) and the performances of the other (achievement). The question to be answered is whether the other is to be considered significant because of what he is—boy, girl, Negro, slum dweller, or because of what he does—reads well or poorly, responds, recites, *et cetera*. The informal peer groups tend strongly toward ascription as does the family and neighborhood.

The particularism - universalism distinction refers to the application of norms by the actors, and along with ascription - achievement describes one of the most fundamental distinctions between primary and secondary systems. Particularism describes normative expectations limited to a definite relationship between two particular persons —expectations that are not transferable to other relationships or persons. Universalism describes expectations that are generally applicable and which can be applied to status positions, independently of the particular persons involved. The universalistic expectations obviously define relationships between role players, not persons, and are consequently most relevant to requirements of secondary systems. The formal roles of the school. the expectations defining the role of teacher and students, are of this type and differ in this respect from the expectations applied to student peers. The critical effect of this distinction is that the school and other secondary sytems are understandable to actors only in the universalistic context.

The final distinction, collectivity orientation - self orientation, describes the degree to which the normative or cultural patterns permit individual or private interests, either expressive or instrumental, to enter into the considerations of the actor and his behavior. Collectivity orientation describes a situation, such as the classroom, office, or factory, where all the persons are obligated to pursue goals established by the group and held by all. Self-orientation describes a situation where the individual is permitted to pursue goals that are unique to himself and not shared by the other members of the group.

The relevance of all this to the problem of the disadvantaged arises from the fact that, with the exception of the family, the business of modern industrial society, from education through commerce, politics, religion to community affairs and recreation, is conducted in contexts of secondary rather than primary interactions. In this context, cultural conflict occurs because the lower class culture is characterized by primary rather than secondary modes.

Empirical Evidence on Lower Class Culture

The empirical evidence on the lower class culture is consistent with the distinctions made in the preceding discussion. As a comprehensive review of this evidence is beyond the scope of this paper, the reader is referred again to the cited references.

First, and at the cultural level, Miller and Riessman (19), in their outline of the themes of the working class subculture, assert that it can be described by the pattern variables of particularism-affectivity-ascription and diffuseness. These pattern variables alternatives of course define primary rather than secondary modes.

Secondly, there is considerable evidence that the interactions themselves fall in the primary rather than the secondary modes. The central aspect of this primary style is stated by Hauskencht (15), who, in his review of the empirical literature, draws the following conclusion regarding lower class interaction:

> The model for all social relationships is the family; that is, social interaction with others tends to be on a highly personal or primary basis. There is a shallow and minimum commitment to the more impersonal or secondary relationships demanded in most spheres of a complex society.....The home and the immediate neighborhood represent the "real world"; the journey to work represents a daily sortie into an alien world. (p. 209)

Blum (5), also writing in a survey and synthesis of the literature notes that the interactions and relationships occur in a close-knit network, or strong primary system, in which the behavior of the individual is effectively controlled, and where memberships (in secondary systems) are avoided because they must involve deviation from the norms of the strong primary system. This is, of course, the problem faced by the student who attempts to involve himself in the school in the face of the negative educational values and sanctions of the members of his peer reference groups who constitute his primary network.

Finally, at the level of personality and behavior, various authors have noted the importance of expressive rather than instrumental orientations in the lower class person and especially the lower class child (4, 24). This is another way of

describing a lack of role-taking skills that require ability to control impulses and to exhibit the self in the manner required by the group. Blum argues that this lack of role-taking skill is a result of the complete involvement of the individual in the close-knit primary network which prevents the learning of alternative behaviors and definitions of self.

Implications for Schools

Returning at last to the central problem, that of the disadvantaged child in the middle class school, the implication of the preceding is that the cultural conflict does not consist merely of discrepancy in content but rather that the conflict consists of patterns and styles that go to the very fundamental properties of social action itself. As Hausknecht (15, p. 207) states the contrast: "When compared with those of the middle-class, blue-collar beliefs, attitudes, and behavior represent not so much a subculture as a counter-culture." While Hausknecht may overstate the degree of conflict, it does seem clear that at the very least the disadvantaged child lives in a cultural context that has basic properties inappropriate to role playing in the middle class culture, and if socialization is accomplished in the lower class subculture alone the child will develop orientations and basic personality structure that will work against success in the middle class world of secondary systems.

As the dominant society is coming to realize, the school occupies a critical position in this process because it receives the child during the period when value-orientations are being acquired by the child and therefore can operate as a bridge between the two systems. However, instead of being a channel from the lower class subculture to the middle class system, the school actually seems to become another barrier that serves to stabilize the differences originating in the social structure. While there are obviously many factors involved in this failure to serve as bridge between the two worlds, and many of these appear to be matters of learning ability and capacity, value-orientations toward intellectualism, achievement, and work, the materials reviewed in this paper suggest that an important underlying factor might be simply the nature of the school as a secondary system. Thus, the school, in attempting to supplement the socialization content of the disadvantaged subculture, approaches the child as a secondary system with expectations that are alien to the experience and the normative orders within which the child lives. In other words, it is conceivable that the disadvantaged child cannot make contact with the school, not alone because he lacks the prerequisites to learning, but because he cannot behave in secondary contexts.

There is an interesting corollary to this implication, namely that the problem should become progressively more serious as the child progresses through the years when value-orientations and reference groups processes become more significant to him. In the very early years, all children exist within a primary context in the family where the orientations are consistently diffuse, particularistic, affective, and ascriptive. However, during the progression through grades, the child is taught to behave more and more in a secondary context and the teacher of course plays the central role in this development. "Thus to a much higher degree than in the family, in school the child learns to adjust himself to a specific-universalistic-achievements system." (22, p. 240) During the periods when the school is accomplishing this transition, the middle class child also acquires secondary orientations in the family as he is taught to behave in formal and semi-formal contexts, and he has parental models who behave successfully in secondary contexts. Thus the basic modes of interaction and behavior that he acquires in the family are congruent with the progression he is experiencing in the school. The lower class child on the other hand is acquiring a set of basic patterns that are quite different from those central to the school progression which, as Hausknecht states, stand counter to the middle class system and the school as a representative subsystem.

Given the above, it would be expected that the lower class child would be more involved in the school during the first year or so than in following years and that in each succeeding year would find the two worlds of school and family more disjunctive. If Blum's interpretation is correct, during these stages he will withdraw as much as possible from the secondary systems in order to maintain his status in the lower class primary network. As he does this, he probably disengages himself from meaningful involvement in the school as a secondary system, or involves himself most with the non-social aspects of the school, namely athletics and vocational training where the normative features of the middle class secondary system do not impinge as directly upon him. What he especially avoids are meaningful relationships with teachers and the secondary, middle class student networks centering around the school activities.

It is more interesting to note that the progressive deterioration of the academic achievement of the disadvantaged compared to the middle

class student can be accounted for by this model as well as by the generally accepted assumption that it is the academic learning failures in the early years which, because of the accumulative nature of the academic content learning, become progressively more consequential. Perhaps it is simply that as the child matures the discrepancies between the two cultures become more pronounced and damaging to the self.

Before proceeding to some speculations about ameliorating the effect of discrepancy in primary-secondary patterns, it might be well to place this particular problem in a more balanced perspective. To this point we have reviewed some of the social psychological factors in the cultural conflict between lower and middle class systems. Among these were such content features as different educational, occupational, and achievement value-orientations; differential experiences with disapproved behaviors; differences in socialization with respect to impulse control; achievement motivation; and assumption of responsibility. All of these factors have a significant role in the problem of the disadvantaged, the implications of which have been clearly drawn in the literature. This paper has developed the primary-secondary distinction because, to this writer's knowledge, the implications of that particular factor have not received much attention to the present time and because stating the problem in these terms opens the problem to interpretation from a social psychological perspective. However, the problem of the disadvantaged child in modern society and in the modern school system is most certainly multi-factored and will have to be examined from a number of perspectives.

Some Suggestions and Speculations

Without the empirical research testing of the actual effects of the primary-secondary distinction upon the academic success of the disadvantaged, the practical relevance of this paper to the immediate problems of the teachers of the disadvantaged is open to some question. However, in closing, some suggestions and speculations can be made although they are more in the way of hypotheses than solutions.

First of all, it is suggested that the primary-secondary distinction points to an area of concern that has not been adequately explored in the case of the disadvantaged but that should be carefully considered. It implies, as do many of the other aspects of the problem of the disadvantaged, that a student can possess both innate ability and satisfactory personal adjustment and still become a marginal student through the disjunctions of the social structures within which he lives. It most definitely does not view the disadvantaged as socially maladjusted, although some of the disadvantaged may be. It suggests most directly that the problem of the disadvantaged may not be so much that he *will not* become involved as that he *cannot* because he does not know how to act at the most fundamental and basic level of all—the general orientation to all action situations, regardless of content.

Secondly, and probably most realistically, the distinction suggests categories for teacher observation of the students. It is possible that these, as well as the other distinctions, will provide the teacher with new insights into the nature of the obstacles faced by the disadvantaged child in the school system.

Thirdly, this distinction should find its way into research on the disadvantaged to determine how important it actually is in the academic achievement of the disadvantaged, and for that matter in the academic achievement of certain middle class students.

Finally, the distinction suggests some possibilities in ameliorating the problem. If research or observations prove to be actually significant, then the school is faced with a choice. It can, as Riessman suggests, concentrate on utilizing the strengths of the poor, which are the strengths of primary systems, or it can attempt to "middle-classize" them by supplementing the socialization in secondary interactions they fail to receive in the family. As the strengths of the poor consist of the ego protection and support resulting from membership in primary systems, from the point of view of success in larger society, they actually constitute the major weaknesses of the lower class subculture. They are strengths only in the sense that in a modern society they provide ego support for the individual who cannot obtain success in the larger society of secondary systems.

If the choice is to "middleclassize" these children, then the primary-secondary distinction suggests some lines along which a solution might lie. This solution will necessarily be with the development of role taking and role playing skills. The school, as it attempts to supplement family socialization in this area, would have to provide the disadvantaged child with considerable amounts of practice in *playing at being* persons other than himself. Games of acting out, of being teachers, salesmen, policemen, of being other children, *et cetera,* would appear to be the type of approach

called for. The purpose of any such program would of course be to provide the child with experiences directed toward increasing his ability to be flexible in making presentations of self, in maintaining alternative definitions of self, and in assuming roles defined by situations, rather than by his internal needs. Any program of this sort should probably be directed toward ultimately involving the disadvantaged child in high school activities of a secondary type, and the early forms should be planned to lead to this result. Obviously, the earlier such trainings are instituted the more likely will be their success.

A closely related type of training should probably involve the development of understandings of and familiarity with secondary systems, and the central features of their operations. One way of doing this would be to have children make up games or other systems of action, to develop rules and acquire understanding of the relationship between organizational purposes, rules, or norms and the requirements of roles. Children might be given experience in assigning other children to positions and roles. In the later grades it might take the form of stating a function or goal and then letting individual children describe the necessary duties and responsibilities, establish positions, and assign other children to those roles. The nature of specialization, integration, and coordination of specialized roles; allocation of resources; and the necessity for controlling individual impulses could probably all be demonstrated and practiced in small group settings in the classroom. The purpose would be twofold—first to develop skill and understanding and secondly to gain insight into the manner in which the task requirements of secondary systems set the limits for individual behavior.

In the later grades and junior high school, study of society could concentrate on distinctions between primary and secondary systems and the basic patterns of modern society as a secondary system. In addition considerable attention should be directed toward meaningfully relating the features of the contemporary secondary system to the self, by showing how features of these systems affect the daily experiences and satisfactions of the individual. This is, of course, a much more difficult task than simple exercises in role playing. A most central feature of this education would be to show the nature of universalistic systems and how affective neutrality and specificity are related to these patterns.

The preceding are speculative suggestions and are not intended as recommendations for action programming. Such programming should properly wait on research designed to determine the actual importance of this distinction upon the academic and social experiences of the disadvantaged.

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Compensatory Language Arts Programs for Disadvantaged Children

Continued from page 6

> quire one-third of the desks we now have in our elementary schools across the nation. The 20 million without a high school diploma would require that we double the number of desks in our high schools.[2]

No one claims that the elimination of illiteracy could cure all the evils of unemployment, discrimination, low standards of living, or problems of child-rearing. But there is no question that educational requirements are mounting. It has been found that the unemployed cannot even qualify for training or retraining, as the case may be, because of their lack of education. An elementary education is not enough to qualify one for a job; already high school dropouts are having great difficulty in securing employment. Neither the fact that the attainment of functional literacy for adults is not a cure-all, nor the fact that illiteracy is diminishing, should mean that low educational attainment is not a matter for the deepest concern.

What the Child Brings to the School

What are some of the things which the child brings to the school, and most specifically, to the printed page? The most important of these are: (1) cultural and environmental backgrounds; (2) previous learning experiences; (3) interests at various developmental levels.

Educators are agreed that the content of reading materials should reflect the culture and environment of those to be taught. This idea is implicit in the special materials produced for use in compensatory programs and in the general patterns of learning accepted by educational psychologists. But these need to be examined against the situation in which we find vast numbers of children.

There are 69,000,000 children in the United States under the age of 18. Of the 69,000,000 some 12,000,000 live in absolute poverty, which means that they have barely enough to subsist on. A vast number of these children cannot read, and the reason for a good many of them is that they do not believe there is any point in knowing how to read. Lack of reading ability is sometimes said to be related to crime. How many children commit crimes? According to figures provided for 1963 by the F.B.I., some 706,252 children were taken into custody; in that year in New York City alone police arrested over 40,000 children. Much of this could have been predicted—nay, had been freely predicted!

Using the Glueck Social Prediction Index, the New York City Youth Board began a study in 1952 which followed certain youth for no less than a decade. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, in their book, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*[3] had stated that it would be possible to determine at the age of five or six if a child would become delinquent or nondelinquent by considering five factors in the environment of the child. The Gluecks, working originally with boys, used the following factors:

> *Supervision by the mothers*: whether she knows where the child is, and his activities and friends, and whether she keeps a close watch over him.
> *Discipline by the mother*: whether she sets limits for the child's behavior, whether punishment is kindly or cruel, and whether the child understands and accepts it.
> *Cohesiveness of the family*: whether parents and children enjoy working and playing together.

Originally there were five factors: those men-

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[3] Published by the Harvard University Press, 1951.

In New York State, a delinquent is a person at least seven years old and less than 16 years of age who does an act which, if committed by an adult, would be a crime.

tioned above, and in addition, discipline of the boy by the father and supervision of the boy by his father. Each factor was given a numerical weight. The weights were added together and a score entered for each child, representing his probable chance of becoming delinquent by his 16th birthday. In the study under discussion the New York Youth Board ratings involving the father were dropped—in deference to reality, for the Board realized it had penetrated into a world in which actually there is no further figure present.

In December, 1964, the New York Board reported the following results: of 33 boys predicted as delinquents, 28 became delinquent, an 84.8% accuracy in predicting delinquency. Of the 243 cases predicted as nondelinquent, 236 or 97.1% were nondelinquent. Of the 25 boys who were predicted as having an almost even chance of becoming delinquent or remaining nondelinquent, nine were delinquent and 16 remained nondelinquent.[5]

The United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare surveyed children attending nursery school or kindergarten and found that in October, 1964, 3.2 million children aged three through five—or about one-fourth of all American youngsters—were enrolled. Nursery schools, the survey noted, are predominantly private and generally beyond the reach of low-income families. Kindergartens, more predominantly public, have not been established in many areas. These findings make it perfectly clear that large numbers of American youngsters who are most in need of a helping hand in the early stages of the educational processes are not getting it. An encouraging statistic, though, reported in August, 1965, reveals that in New York City alone, in its initial summer (1965), *Project Headstart* enrolled 26,011 in programs designed to provide eight weeks of educational and social enrichment for poor children about to enter the first grade. These pupils, attending classes in public and parochial schools and private agencies, in many instances had little experience at the beginning in supervised group activity or with discipline, and many spoke no English at all. Plans are now being laid for year-round activities nationally under *Project Headstart*.

This recent experience, and with others as well, revealed that a special feature of the educationally deprived child's learning difficulty lies in his language deficiency. Since verbal ability or disability unquestionably penetrates all areas of academic learning, a closer examination of this matter is in order. It is not enough to simply assume that a child is "non-verbal" or "less-verbal," and any definition is likely to develop argument. Generally speaking, language is a purely human non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols. Language cannot be definitely localized, for it consists of a peculiar symbolic relation between all possible elements of consciousness on the one hand, and certain elements localized in the auditory, motor, and other cerebral and nervous tracks on the other.[6]

Most authorities would agree that there is a close relationship between language and thought. For example, it is believed that the acquisition of a language system involves the reorganization of all the child's mental processes, the word becoming a factor which forms mental activity, perfects the reflection of reality, and creates new forms of attention, or memory, and imagination, of thought and action. The word has a basic function not only because it indicates a corresponding object in the external world, but also it abstracts and isolates the necessary signal and generalizes perceived signals and relates them to certain categories; it is this systematization of direct experience that makes the role of the word in the formation of mental processes so important. Language is the essential ingredient in concept formation, in problem-solving, and in relating to and interpreting the environment.

Little is really known about how language develops, except that it comes about as a result of the interaction with the environment and that it occurs in overlapping stages. It seems safe to say that there is general agreement that the *first stage* is the learning of the pronunciation system; the *second stage* is the learning of its grammar, which begins about one year later than the first stage began, and is complete by the time the child is about eight; the *third stage* begins about the period which sees the first stage ending. At that time (probably about four or five years of age) the meanings of the words currently known begin to undergo some form of organization into systems based on similarity, contrast, and hierarchy. This process continues for many years, but for the majority of individuals, ends about the time high school is completed. The number of words increases gradually as the individual feels a need for

[5]Julius Horwitz, "The Arithmetic of Delinquency, *New York Times* (Magazine Section), January 31, 1965, p. 13.

[6]Edward Sapir, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927), pp. 8-10.

them and develops in special areas of interest and activity.

The whole basis of the language system for the normal child rests upon auditory perception; and by two or three years of age, language patterns have become more or less well-established, depending on certain conditions, particularly environmental. Most writers of texts in the language arts field would agree that the developmental hierarchy is somewhat as follows: (1) experience established while the child is quite young; (2) inner speech—also established while the child is three, possibly two years of age; (3) auditory receptive language—comprehending the spoken word; (4) auditory expressive language—speaking; (5) visual receptive language—reading; (6) visual expressive language—writing.

It is difficult to generalize concerning vocabulary knowledge and development, for the study of its nature is time-consuming and subject to many methodological problems. Because of differences in terminology, type of sample, definition, and method of recording, there is no concensus as to the specific time of the onset of meaningful use of words. However, it is generally agreed that sometimes between the age of one and two, most children have learned to talk. This is the crucial or critical period, and failure to learn at this time results in long-range and diverse consequences. Various writers maintain that after the age of two the young child accumulates words rapidly providing they are used and he hears them repeatedly in his environment.

Ways of Meeting the Needs of Children Requiring Compensatory Language Arts Programs

Several years ago, Figueral studied the vocabulary of underprivileged children and concluded that the comparison of the words in the vocabulary of underprivileged children with the words in controlled vocabularies for grades two through six shows that very little effective reading can be expected to be done in the textbooks in use in these grades, for almost all of the words in the controlled vocabularies are unknown to underprivileged children in the various grades. He observed that:

> The vocabularies of underprivileged children reveal a limited experiential background. Although the number of words known in such areas of experience as clothing, eating, housekeeping, and recreation seems large, their number is still small and very limited when compared with terms privileged children know. Only in the area of school experience are privileged and underprivileged children comparable. If reading competency is commensurate with one's experience, and much evidence seems to prove that this is true, underprivileged children, with their limited experiences, can be expected to do very little effective reading in textbooks they now use.[7]

Some fifteen years later, Figuerel was still reiterating the observations made and the conclusions drawn from the earlier study. Speaking at the International Reading Association convention on May 1, 1964, on the topic, "Limitations in the Vocabulary of Culturally Disadvantaged Children: A Cause for Poor Reading,"[8] he drew attention to the obvious fact that despite our knowledge of the limited vocabularies of children, very little real progress has been made with the passage of the years.

Perhaps the first and most obvious way of meeting the needs of children who are in need of compensatory work in the language arts is through the utilization, which usually means modification, of existing materials. Those needed for language arts will naturally depend on the methods, particularly in the field of reading, where such materials will be used. Recent trends and the results of worldwide research in reading methods are summarized by Dr. William S. Gray in a UNESCO report. He says:

> Effective initial progress in reading results from parallel emphasis on both meaning and word recognition. One of the most significant recent trends in teaching reading is to combine in a coordinated program, teaching techniques which formerly characterized contrasting methods. The desirability of this trend is emphasized by the results of scientific studies... to ensure the best results, the useful elements of the phonetic method should be combined with the high educative value of the global method.[9]

Whatever the method, most reading people would agree with Dr. Gray in his breakdown of reading into four main stages, for each of which appropriate materials are needed. These four stages are:

Stage One: Preparing for reading, which includes activities and experiences called reading readiness.

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[7] J. Allen Figuerel, "The Vocabulary of Underprivileged Children," *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin*, XLV (June, 1949), pp. 384-393.

[8] ———, "Limitation in the Vocabulary of Disadvantaged children: A Cause of Poor Reading," *Improvement of Reading Through Classroom Practice*, Proceedings of the Annual Convention, Vol. IX (Newark, Deleware: International Reading Association, 1964), p. 164.

[9] William S. Gray, *The Teaching of Reading and Writing* (Chicago: UNESCO-Scott, Foresman, 1956), pp. 117-118.

Stage Two: Learning to read very simple materials, which includes author-teacher-prepared materials.

Stage Three: Promoting rapid progress in mastering basic reading skills.

Stage Four: Acquiring more mature reading interests and habits.

Probably the best and most recent of helpful resources in the field of language arts education is the *Writer's Handbook for the Development of Educational Materials.* The section devoted to "Developing Materials for Language Arts" is particularly recommended. The chapter is summarized thusly:

> Two principles should be stressed. The first is the close connection between cultural background and language arts and the importance of oral communication in building language. The second is the close relationship between language arts and other areas in the curriculum, and the possibility of using materials in more than one curriculum area.[10]

Another valuable resource for those who could write, or those who must write, materials suited to particular groups, is Osmon's "A Realistic Approach to the Writing of Children's Textbooks for Deprived Areas."[11] A series of articles appearing in *Improving English Skills of Culturally Different Youth* [12] is recommended. These include: "A Reaistic Writing Program for Culturally Diverse Youth," by Don M. Wolfe; "Give Him a Book That Hits Him Where He Lives," by Charles G. Spiegler; "Ways to Improve Oral Communication of Culturally Different Youth," by Ruth I. Golden; and "Subcultural Patterns Which Affect Language and Reading Development," by Donald Lloyd.

New entrants which show promise of what must surely come are *In the City* and *People Read,* the so-called *Bank Street Readers.*[13] These Books together with the workbook entitled *More About In the City and People Read* constitute a marked departure from the more conventional readers with which culturally disadvantaged youngsters have struggled long and unsuccessfully. At a more advanced level, *Call Them Heroes* presents the biographies of forty-eight men and women who have achieved some measure of success.[14] Published as recently as August, 1965, by Silver Burdett for the Board of Education of the City of New York, the four paperback books in this very inexpensive series are written at a sixth-grade reading level but should appeal to pupils from sixth grade through the twelfth grade. The manual accompanying the series takes the position that in language arts classes the four books can serve as the basis for group instruction in reading or can be read as supplementary materials by individuals. Within this field, the books should be especially appropriate for the reluctant reader of junior or senior high school age. In guidance classes, the series can be used to develop an awareness of the value of education. The stories give, in dramatic form, a message that is the core of the guidance program. The individual student can be referred to particular stories of people who faced the same problems he does or who chose the same profession he wants. In social studies classes the series can be used to gain insights into social problems of city life and to produce a wider awareness of some economic aspects of our twentieth-century society.

Another venture into the realm of materials development for use with pupils whose background is deemed deficient was that taken in 1962 by the Reading Improvement Project of the Center for Programmed Instruction.[15] The particular interest of this organization was to explore the potential of programmed materials for use with problem readers at the junior high school level. The Center stated at the outset that it believed that vocabulary is the most significant predicator of reading speed and comprehension. Thus, the primary direction of the Project to date has been toward the development of programmed units to teach vocabulary that is basic to seventh and eighth grade subject matter areas. This particular vocabulary was selected for two reasons. First,

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[10]Barbara Nolen and Delia Goetz, *Writer's Handbook for the Development of Instructional Materials,* Bulletin 1949, No. 19 (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1959), p. 66.

[11]Howard A. Osman, Jr., "A Realistic Approach to the Writing of Children's Textbooks for Deprived Areas," *Elementary English,* XXX (December, 1960), pp. 534-535.

[12]Arno Jewett, Joseph Mersand, and Doris V. Gunderson, *Improving English Skills of Culturally Diffenent Youth in Large Cities,* OE-30012, Bulletin 1964, No. 5 (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964.)

[13]Irma Black (Editor), *The Bank Street Readers* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

[14]Zane Hickcox (Editor), *Call Them Heroes* (Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett, 1965).

[15]Reading Improvement Project of the Center for Programmed Instruction: Progress Report, July 1, 1963" (New York: Center for Programmed Instruction, distributed by Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1964), 27 pp.

programming seventh grade vocabulary for children who read at the fourth grade level provides an opportunity to uncover and solve problems of teaching higher order concepts with lower order language. Second, the vocabulary and concepts that are taught are those encountered by the students in their textbooks. Much of the work done at the Center for Programmed Instruction seems to derive from the theories of speed, comprehension, and power as described by Holmes, who has maintained that this "Power of Reading" is greatly dependent upon a knowledge of word and the concepts they symbolize. He advocates the "introducing into our program of reading textbooks that have not only a graded list of words, but a graded list of concepts. And these concepts must become deeper, more difficult and more complex than we have previously thought possible for children to learn."[16]

Holmes is not the first to take this position. Serra,[17] writing in 1953, and Marcum[18] writing earlier in 1944, drew attention to the need for listing concepts, classified by level and series, to aid teachers in determining the experiences that children need to prepare them for reading in a given series. Vocabulary lists are commonly printed in the appendix of each book in a basal series. Marcum's work suggest that an analogous listing of concepts used in each book should be helpful. With a concept vocabulary or concept list on hand, the teacher could determine the appropriateness of a given book in terms of the concepts already possessed by pupils or could provide appropriate experiences to build the needed concepts before using the book. In books overloaded with difficult terms, a large number of these terms are not associated in any usable manner with established concepts. In some cases children can ascribe no meanings to the terms. In other instances they ascribe wrong meanings, vague meanings, or partially correct meanings.

Who Can Help in Compensatory Language Arts Programs?

The challenges schools have to face have reached critical proportions. As observed in *School-Home Partnership in Depressed Urban Neighbors,*[19] these challenges have led many schools serving depressed urban areas to introduce enrichment and remedial practices designed to maximize and expand the educational opportunities of culturally deprived school children. Such innovations include modifications and enrichment of curriculum content, improve instructional materials, new ways of organizing the school and the classroom, assignment of specialized staff personnel to the schools, and strengthened inservice training of teachers to equip them to deal with the problems of working in a depressed area.

Thus, in one school system there is an effort made on the one hand to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio in the primary grades by assigning one or two additional teachers, by establishing a class to teach English to non-English speaking pupils, and by providing additional remedial reading classes in a particular school. A second experiment involving extension of the school day, provides a block of time of 20 hours weekly for supplementary teaching and 12 additional hours weekly of student aide time for assisting teachers. The student aides are locally recruited junior college students or high school seniors.[20]

In large urban centers community-service organizations customarily have to depend upon volunteers for the full implementation of their programs. As Newton observes:

> In some instances, volunteers are sought who have exceptional skills needed for special services in recreatory or rehabilitative programs—art and crafts, dancing, music, sports, and the like. To assist in the basic literacy programs, however, volunteers are recruited who have, frequently, just three things: time, zeal, and reading ability.[21]

It is readily recognized that there is more to a program than mere possession of these three assets, however important they may be deemed to be —and they are important, for the zeal and empathy of the volunteer reading teacher are tremendous forces for effective learning which may

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[16]Jack Holmes, "Speed, Comprehention, and Power in Reading," *Problems, Programs, and Project in College-Adult Reading*, Eleventh Yearbook of the National Reading Conference, 1961 (Milwaukee: 1962), p. 14.

[17]Mary C. Serra, "The Concept Burden of Instructional Materials," *Elementary School Journal*, LIII (May, 1953), pp. 508-512.

[18]Dixie E. Marcus, "Experiences, Concepts, and Reading," *Elementary School Journal*, XLIV (March, 1944), pp. 410-415.

[19]G. C. Fusco, *School-Home Partnership in Depressed Urban Neighborhoods*, OE-31008, Bulletin 1964, No. 20 (Washington: U.S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964), p. 1.

[20]Millard H. Black, "Reading in a Compensatory Education Program," *Improvement of Reading Through Classroom Practice*, Vol. IX, Proceedings of the Annual Convention (Newark, Deleware: International Reading Association, 1964), p. 160.

[21]Eunice S. Newton, "Training the Volunteer Tutor," *Journal of Reading*, VIII (January, 1965), p. 169.

outweigh or as Newton believes, even transcend the *naivete* of the teacher's methods. Newton's *Syllabus for Training the Volunteer Reading Tutor,* contained in the article cited, ought to be read by all who are involved in the teaching of reading to the educable illiterates and semi-illiterates found in our population.

That the teaching of adults to read is different from teaching children is conceded by those involved in any such programs. Mergentime describes a community project of lay participation, the School Volunteer Program, organized nearly a decade ago by the Public Education Association and which is now a service of the New York City Board of Education.

> The project is based primarily on the use of dependable, intelligent volunteers, men and women, who are trained to work with children in the schools. The volunteers report one or two days a week for a minimum of three hours a day and assist pupils in content subjects, but since reading retardation is such a wide-spread problem, the school volunteers concentrate much of their effort on special reading programs. The emphasis in these programs is heavily weighted in the direction of providing experiences and skills that make for interested readers.[22]

A very recent article, "Cross-Age Relationships: An Educational Resource," brings out the point that schools may not be making the best use of the powerful educational resources represented by cross-age relationships among children. Lippitt and Lohman state that it is an observed fact that children, with proper training and support from adults, are able to function effectively in the roles of helpers and teachers of young children—and that the older children find this type of experience meaningful, productive, and a source of valuable learning for themselves.[23] This very provocative article describes a series of pilot projects of three years duration carried on first in the University of Michigan Laboratory School and later in several biracial classes in a public school in a neighborhood of blue-shirt workers—and in a summer day camp for boys and girls from four to fourteen years of age. Five assumptions underlying the projects are briefly described:[24]

One assumption underlying our pilot projects has been that much of the process of socialization involves the use by younger children of the behavior. This process has great potentiality for planned development as an effective educational force, provided that children are trained appropriately for their roles as socialization agencies. Some of the important natural components of this cross-age modeling process include: an older child's ability to communicate more effectively than adults at the younger child's level; the fact that an older child is less likely to be regarded as an "authority figure" than an adult would be; the younger child's greater willingness to accept influence attempts upon perceiving a greater opportunity for reciprocal influence; and the fact that a slightly older child provides a more realistic level of aspiration for the younger child than an adult would.

A second assumption of the projects has been that involvement of older children in a collaborative program with adults to help young children will have a significant socialization impact on the older chidren because of: (1) the important motivational value of a trust-and responsibility-taking relationship with adults around a significant task, and (2) the opportunity to work through—with awareness but at a safe emotional distance—some of their problems of relationships with their siblings and peers.

A third assumption has been that assisting in a teaching function will help the "teaching students" to test and develop their own knowledge, and also help them discover the significance of that knowledge.

A fourth assumption has been that both younger learners and their adult teachers will be significantly helped in "academic" learning activities through the utilization of trained older children available for tutoring, drilling, listening, and correcting, and other teaching functions.

A final assumption has been that a child will develop a more realistic image of his own ability and present state of development, and will gain a greater appreciation of his own abilities and skills, if he has an opportunity to help children younger than himself to acquire skills which he already possesses and to develop positive relationships with children older than himself.

In the school pilot projects, sixth graders were involved as academic assistants in the fourth,

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[22]Charlotte Mergentime, "Tailoring the Reading Program to the Needs of Disadvantaged Pupils: The Role of the School Volunteer," *Improvement of Reading Through Classroom Practice,* Vol. IX, Proceedings of the Annual Convention (Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1964), p. 162.

[23]Peggy Lippitt and John E. Lohman, "Cross-Age Relationships: An Educational Resource," *Children,* XII (May-June, 1965), p. 113.

[24]*Ibid.,* p. 114.

third, second, and first grades. They helped children in the younger classrooms with reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and physical education. In addition, they were used as laboratory assistants in social science laboratory periods, working as group discussion leaders and producing "behavior specimens" presented for observation and study. Their success was the result of several carefully planned steps in the development of collaborative cross-age interaction. These included: (1) providing opportunities for cross-age interaction through collaboration between adults; (2) teacher-student collaboration; (3) building a peer-group attitude which supported the value of helping youngsters and being helped by elders; (4) training for the helper role (training in academic procedures, feedback sessions, seminars); (5) "at-the-elbow" help.

Not all programs currently being tried out can be regarded as highly successful, but even in their failures valuable insights are obtained. A case at point is the highly publicized New York City program called *Higher Horizons*. According to the *New York Times* of September 1, 1965, the effort to raise the educational, vocational, and cultural aspirations of disadvantaged children has had virtually no measurable effect on the achievement of the pupils enrolled. The Bureau of Educational Research of the Board of Education of the City of New York through its Director, Dr. J. Wayne Wrightstone, had to concede that there were little or no differences in many of the areas evaluated between pupils in *Higher Horizons* schools and those in similar schools without the program. The research team, in an introductory statement to the Bureau report, emphasized that the study being conducted from 1959 to 1962 and only now being evaluated, had a marked influence on the educational progra of both the city and the nation. "The growing awareness of the need for special efforts and imaginative innovations in the education of the socially disadvantaged is at least a partial consequence of the leadersrip of New York City and its early concern with these problems,"[25] the report said.

The Need for Perspective

The schools of this country are in no sense unique because they face challenging reading problems. Over a decade ago, Dr. William S. Gray, in completing a world-wide study for UNESCO, reported that every country, language, and culture faces many such problems, which are in need of intensive and continued study. He saw this situation as being due largely to two closely related facts: *first,* a clear recognition by all nations of the tremendous role that world literacy might play in promoting individual welfare, group progress, international understanding, and world peace, and *second,* the many challenging problems faced everywhere in efforts to help both children and adults to acquire sufficient competence in reading to use it effectively in promoting personal development and group progress.

Beginning reading is important for the reason alluded to by Gray. Likewise the beginning stages are of first importance in reading because attitude and habits formed in the primary grades largely determine later development. Ironically, it is this first level which seems to suffer most from oversimplification. Harding has stated that "possibly this is because the children are young and their vocabularies small, but it is more likely the result of opportunism in accepting quick or easy answers to practical problems."[26] It is his belief that much of the inconsistent practice in teaching beginning reading could be eliminated by examining the relationships between assumptions in philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy.

Some teachers regard philosophy as abstract and impractical. They assume that psychology is a matter of laboratory rat-mazes, synaptic connections, and learning curves; and they conduct reading on the low level of mechanical performance in textbook materials. For some individuals, this is explained by insufficient professional preparation. In the case of others, it results from concentrations upon specific details in each special field at the expense of a comprehensive overview. With some teachers inconsistent practices result from the influence of some authorities who emphasize the differences between theories and between fields of knowledge rather than the relationships. The teacher of the culturally disadvantaged youngster must be a practical philosopher and a practicing psychologist as well as being a pedagogue. It is a truism that a method can be no more effective than its basic postulates, but nothing is more practical than getting one's theory straight.

The program of the language arts for the cul-

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[25]Robert H. Terte, "Higher Horizons Is Found Wanting," *New York Times*, September 1, 1965, p. 33.

[26]Lowry W. Harding, "Assumptions Underlying Methods of Beginning Reading," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXVII (January, 1951), p. 25.

turally disadvantaged needs to have a firm foundation in theory; and any method lacking a groundwork in philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy suffers to the degree that emphases are misplaced, overloaded, poorly timed, or misconceived. Some programs, well-intended, but poorly grounded in theory, have been advanced and have had varying degrees of success in practice. Others have oversimplified the problem and have advanced programs with little thought for the foundation stones which must underlay a sound approach.

What is required, and what many are now striving for in their programs, are systems that provide for many needs. Although it may be far off for some children, growth is needed in the capacity to read between the meanings conveyed by new language forms and figures of speech. Programs in some schools demonstrate that teachers recognize that growth is needed in the ability to recognize parallels in one's own experience and to interpret the ideas acquired in the light of all one knows or can find out. Equally important is the ability to think clearly about the accuracy, value, and significance of what is read; to identify the use of loaded words and propaganda; and to evaluate critically what is read. Finally, teachers want their pupils to fuse the ideas they read with previous experiences so that new understandings are acquired, thinking is clarified, rational attitudes are developed, and improved thinking and behavior patterns are established. Such problems challenge teachers everywhere as they attempt to make reading contribute to the maximum in enriching the lives of readers and in helping them to meet their social obligations.

Curriculum Innovations for Disadvantaged Elementary Children—What Should They Be?

Continued from page 7

ism, and lack of motivation which undermine the instructional program. Teachers must be freed from many such activities in order to give more time to the teaching-learning situation.

These special resources and services are needed by disadvantaged children and their teachers:

(1) A school library containing many easy-to-read books with exciting stories, stories about experiences familiar to these children, highly illustrative stories, and stories about these children's heroes.

(2) An instructional materials center[1] in each building staffed by professionals and nonprofessionals who research, catalog, and dispense curricular materials needed by disadvantaged children.

(3) Dental, medical, and visual care.

(4) Cultural speech specialists to provide help with speech problems which interfere with phonics training.

(5) Resource teachers and curriculum consultants who assist teachers with new materials, techniques, and curriculum planning.

(6) Facilities for educational trips and tours which compensate for environmental deficiencies.

(7) Home-school communication, coordinated by an individual with sufficient training and maturity to work with teachers and parents.

(8) Sufficient services from a diagnostician to help teachers assess needs and progress as well as to assist with placement of transient children who frequently enroll with inadequate records.

(9) A school photographer to take pictures of children in academic situations for display, thereby enhancing their academic self-concepts and providing an academic aura in the building, which is frequently lacking.

(10) Psychological and psychiatric services such as those provided at a Child Guidance Clinic.

(11) A hot breakfast (and lunch) for children who need it.

(12) A petty cash fund which allows staff members to purchase needed materials and services, thereby improving instruction and staff morale.

(13) A comprehensive continuous inservice program to improve teacher competence and morale.

(14) An extended school program—extension of the school day, week, and year, allowing these children *more time* to compensate for deficiencies.

Parent Education Is Needed

A continuous parent education program, jointly planned by staff members and parents, should be developed. Parents in these communities do not respond readily to parent-school activities although they are interested in their children's education and wish the best for them. Their apparent reluctance may stem from a lack of social skills or a feeling of inadequacy about helping their children achieve academically.

Several techniques which may help to involve

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[1]Reference and enrichment materials such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, and recordings should be made available to children for home use.

parents in the school program are home visits made by teachers to invite each parent to a special program, telephone calls, and follow-up home calls by community leaders. At such programs, parents can be helped to understand how important they are in helping motivate their children to achieve in school. They can assist their children by the following:

(1) Providing a quiet period at home each day for reading and other constructive activities.
(2) Reading daily to children, including preschool age children.
(3) Taking children to the library.
(4) Listening to their children read.
(5) Buying books for their children.
(6) Talking with their children and listening to them.
(7) Showing interest in school by asking questions, giving praise and encouragement.
(8) Buying games and puzzles and playing with them when possible.
(9) Getting children to bed at a reasonable hour.
(10) Getting children up with ample time for breakfast, and preparing them for school—checking to see that teeth are cleaned, that hair is combed and brushed, and that face, hands, and clothes are clean.
(11) Sending children to school with the attitude that they are going to learn and the teacher is there to help them.

Continuous Evaluation Is Needed

Evaluation improves the quality of the ongoing program because it discloses which procedures and techniques are most effective, and it points up new directions and new areas for emphasis. Evaluation should be continuous and should be instructionally oriented. It has the added benefit of giving encouragement to parents and rewarding staff members.

No single device is adequate for evaluating programs for disadvantaged children. Many techniques should therefore be utilized. Evaluation techniques should include standardized tests and teacher judgment. Intelligence tests should be eliminated unless administered on an individual basis by a diagnostician for special placement of a child. Such tests assume to measure innate ability or potential; but deprived children will earn low scores because of reading, vocabulary, and concept deficiencies, as well as a lack of test-taking sophistication. This situation penalizes these children since many teachers interpret such test results as a predictor of what a child can learn. Such teachers will therefore expect less of children and not challenge them to reach their fullest potential.

Attendance and tardiness records should be analyzed. Health records should be kept and evaluated to determine progress in health protection—immunizations, visual and dental corrections, and medical examination and treatment. Teachers should observe children and keep individual growth charts on work habits, care of materials, personal grooming, teacher-student relationships, and student-student relationships.

The evaluation should reflect the extent to which parents and community residents are involved in the school program. Parents and community residents should also be involved in the evaluation process. This might include informal discussion as well as the questionnaire technique. The evaluation process should be continuous.

The Role of Remedial Services

Good programs for disadvantaged children should begin when the child enters school. This, combined with good preschool programs, should reduce the need for remedial programs in later years. A smaller class size will allow each child more personal attention so that remediation is given on a continuous basis. Mobility and other causal factors will create a need for *some* special remediation work, however. Early identification of remedial cases should be made, and remediation should begin before children become severely retarded and discouraged.

Special remedial reading and arithmetic teachers should work very closely with regular classroom teachers so that both are simultaneously focusing on the same problem; otherwise, additional problems are created for these children.

Remedial services, though needed, are not the answer. When children are retarded enough to qualify for these programs, their academic self-concepts are already temporarily or permanently damaged. Efforts must therefore be made to prevent retardation. This requires innovation in the day school program—in content, materials, and teaching procedures in all subject areas, from the time these children enter school.

A description of model language arts programs for primary and later elementary children follows.

A Model Primary Language Arts Program

Disadvantaged children who enter school with inadequate language skills which severely retard readiness for reading and subsequent progress need a prolonged and enriched *reading readiness program* to compensate for these deficiencies.

In order to implement this program, interested and colorful "talking" pictures, clipped and filed by instructional center aides, were used to stimulate children's conversation, build a speaking vocabulary, and clarify concepts. Children were taken on trips to see things, places, and events which are common experiences for children in other communities. Field trips were made to the grocery store, drug store, hardware store, library, fire station, farms (fruit, vegetable, animal), and horticultural gardens. In addition, vicarious experiences were provided through materials available in the Instructional Materials Center, such as filmstrips, recordings, mounted pictures, and imitation realia (toy fruits, vegetables, flowers, animals). After each trip, children talked about their experiences to clarify concepts and to enlarge their speaking and listening vocabularies. Since so much of the teacher's spoken language was "foreign" to these children, the teacher utilized techniques commonly employed in teaching children to speak a foreign language. For example, the teacher showed a toy to a child and named the toy, and the child repeated; or the teacher used a new word in a sentence, and the child repeated the sentence. Materials such as the Peabody Language Development Kit were helpful.

In addition to the typical reading readiness experiences, auditory and visual discrimination training, left-to-right training, "story telling," and reading aloud to develop interest in books, various techniques were utilized to improve skills in which disadvantaged children are especially deficient. This included the skill of listening and the ability to follow direction. Sets of earphones were provided each child and were used with specially prepared tape recordings, records, and radio programs that enhance listening skills. "Listen and do" materials helped with the skill of following one, two, and three step directions.

The children had many experiences with books. They were taken to the school library frequently for "story telling," and they listened to stories from an illustrated book at least twice each day. Older children came to their classrooms and read to them when possible, providing a good model for the children. Parents participated in the reading program through a "read-to-me" program at home. Totally illiterate parents encouraged their children to read by holding the book with the child and discussing the pictures with him. These children learned from some "significant others" (parents) that reading was important and therefore developed an interest in learning to read.

The initial reading program utilized children's experiences through pupil-dictated experience stories, in lieu of a basal reader approach. Storybooks depicted life experiences familiar to the children were also used, such as Follett's City Schools Series, Scott Foresman's Multi-Ethnic Readers, Macmillan's Urban-oriented Readers, and the Chandler Language-experience Readers. In addition to lack of motivation, many reading problems are caused by limited vocabulary and inability to use phonics clues to pronounce words. Metal file boxes (recipe boxes) and file cards were provided each primary child to give special help with vocabulary development. This technique enabled each child to keep his own record of words that cause difficulty and to study them at school and at home, thus improving word recognition and word meaning. Teachers instructed parents to help by flashing the word cards and helping the child follow the study steps outlined:

(1) Look at the word.
(2) Say it.
(3) Tell what it means.
(4) Use it in a sentence.
(5) Check his card to see if he has used the word correctly.

Teachers reported that this was one of the most helpful of the reading innovations for these children, whose particular speech patterns caused difficulties with the regular phonics approach to word recognition and whose meaning vocabularies were limited by environment. Children printed their own word cards when able to; otherwise, aides in the Instructional Materials Center typed or printed them. Stories in typical basal readers lack appeal to disadvantaged children because the illustrations and story content depict life experiences unfamiliar to them. The basal reader approach was therefore eliminated in lieu of multilevel, self-help reading materials which are individualized for students. Science Research Associates reading and listening laboratories were especially desirable. This program was enriched with supplementary materials: library books, literary collections, word games, listening skill building materials, "bookworm" club materials, individual stories constructed by aides from outdated reading booklets (providing students with the satisfaction of reading several "books"), and real-life stories dictated by pupils, typed and duplicated in the Instructional Materials Center and distributed for cassroom reading. Another incentive which motivated children to read independently was the monthly award—toy or game—given to the child in each classroom showing the greatest improve-

ment in the library program. These supplementary reading materials met the criteria established for disadvantaged children for several reasons.

(1) Illustrations showed pictures of people like themselves.
(2) Fictional stories were short and packed with action.
(3) Real-life stories depicted experiences familiar to children.
(4) Materials were highly illustrative and colorful.

The *spelling, writing, and listening program* included the utilization of self-help materials. Follett's *Spelling and Writing Patterns* and Science Research Associates' Listening Skill Building materials are examples of types used. In addition, children learned to write about their own experiences and to use and to spell vocabulary from all subject areas.

A Model Later Elementary Language Arts Program

The *reading program* based on a basal reader approach was eliminated for several reasons:

(1) The content of such books lacks interest because it depicts experiences unfamiliar to these children: books are middle-class oriented.
(2) The illustrations show pictures of people unlike themselves.
(3) These children, having previously experienced failure, abhor thick hard-covered books which require a semester or a year to complete.

An individualized program consisting of short, exciting stories and self-help oriented materials replaced the basal reader program. Included were such materials as Science Research Associates' Reading Laboratories and Libraries; Macmillan's Reading Spectrum; Scott Foresman's Personal Development materials; and Follett's Beginning-To-Read series; Steck's Animal Stories; The Owl Books by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston; the Button and Cowboy Series by Benefic Press; and the Skyline Series by McGraw-Hill.

Basal textbooks in other areas of the language arts program were also eliminated in lieu of multilevel, self-help type materials such as Science Research Associates' Spelling Laboratories, Follett's Spelling and Writing Patterns, and Science Research Associates' Writing and Listening Skill Building materials.

The reading and language arts program which incorporated the individualized self-help approach aided these children experiencing difficulty in these areas:

(1) They accommodate individual differences.
(2) They allow each child to begin at a functional level.
(3) They provide immediate feedback.
(4) They are highly structured and sequential, thereby giving security to children.
(5) They keep each child aware of his progress, thus providing immediate reinforcement and gratification.
(6) The self-help feature of the materials gives these children self-reliance, self-confidence, and a degree of independence which they otherwise lack.

An extensive library program enriched the reading program. Children visited the library twice weekly to check out books and for "story telling." Parents were encouraged to participate. Fathers provided encouragement by taking turns with library duties as well as by reading to the class during the library period, thus demonstrating to their children, particularly boys, that men value reading. Culturally disadvantaged boys need especially this kind of masculine support since most prodding to read is normally associated with mothers and female teachers, resulting in the idea that boys who take their school work seriously are "sissies."

Library aides and volunteer mothers made single-story reading booklets by cutting up outdated reading books into individual stories and adding covers. Later elementary children, like primary children, found thick hard-covered books difficult to "read for fun," and these children therefore were delighted to discover they could finish a thin booklet and get the added satisfaction of reading several books. *Bookworm clubs* in each classroom encouraged children to read independently, a characteristic of any good reader. Each child was given a bookworm card, containing a sixteen-segment worm. Each placed a bright color sticker on one segment upon reading one book. When all of the 16 segments were covered, the child was given a "Certificate of Achievement," and a lapel button entitled "I'm a Bookworm." Children also kept a record of books read in their copy of "My Reading Record Booklet." A monthly reward (game, puzzle, toy) was given to the child who had shown the most progress, thus enabling less-able readers in the class to compete successfully. The reward was encouragement and the record keeping gave reinforcement because each child could see immediate progress. Both techniques are especially suited to reluctant readers.

Book fairs for children and adults were held periodically. Book were sold at cost and below cost to enable individuals to *own* books and to

encourage families to build home libraries. One reason disadvantaged children do not value property is that themselvies do noe own property When such a child purchased a book, even at a minimal cost of 5¢, 10¢, or 15¢, and wrote *his name* on the cover page, he gained a feeling of pride, self-worth, and self-esteem far greater than most teachers imagined. Since these children's parents do not take them to the downtown book store to purchase books, the school's program compensated for this deficiency. Mother's clubs underwrote the cost of this program through bake sales and carnivals.

Disadvantaged children require special help with vocabulary development. This includes both word recognition and word meaning, which is a deficiency of environmental origin. A metal recipe box similar to those used by primary children and index cards were given to each child, thus enabling him to keep his own record of words that caused difficulty in reading and other subject areas, and to study them independently at school and at home. The difficult word was written on one side of the card and the definition(s) and its use(s) in a sentence were written on the opposite side Children and parents were taught the study steps:

(1) Look at only one word at a time; think about how it begins and ends.
(2) Say it softly; think about how it sounds.
(3) Give the meaning(s) in your own words.
(4) Use the word in a sentence that makes good sense.
(5) Check your card to see that you have given the correct meaning and used it in a sentence.

Parents were taught the study procedure at parent meetings and then helped the children at home by flashing the cards. Teachers reported that this device was one of the most helpful innovations for the children because: (1) Children's vocabularies are limited by environmental conditions, (2) Emphasis on the sight approach to word recognition is helpful because phonics skills are handicapped by cultural speech differences, (3) Children enriched their vocabularies by learning words not only from all subject areas, but also from newspapers, magazines, television and street signs, (4) Children developed the "dictionary habit" which was lacking.

"The Word for the Day" activity consisted of placing a new word each day, printed on cardboard, in a pocket chart set aside for this purpose. Children learned the new word and were encouraged to use it in conversation during that day, thus enriching their speaking vocabularies. Disadvantaged children do not use specific vocabulary to communicate. These children generally use implicit rather than explicit vocabulary; therefore, "hardly any at all" would represent "limited," or "get up the papers" might be said for, "collect the papers." This problem handicaps these children on intelligence tests because the ability to give specific definitions for words enhances one's score on such tests. Disadvantaged children therefore earn a lower score because of their vocabulary deficiency. Easy-to-read dictionaries were provided for each child, on a long-term loan basis, for home use through the school library. The Throndike-Barnhart Dictionary was especially desirable because of its simplified vocabulary.

Typewriters utilized for after school enrichment classes were used daily by children in the regular school program. Children typed spelling lists, outlines, vocabulary lists, and helpers lists. Teachers reported this to be one of the most valuable techniques for motivating children to learn to spell and improve vocabularies. These children learned to type in the after-school typing classes.

The model programs cited above give some suggestions for curriculum innovations to raise the achievement of children who are educationally disadvantaged. Experienced teachers will no doubt have many additional ideas for innovations. The important point to be made is that the curriculum should be implemented in the regular school proprogrem rather to rely heavily on remedial programs for these schools.

New Materials Are Needed

Many attempts at curriculum change fail because adequate materials to implement change are not available to teacher in sufficient quantity. This problem has been compounded for disadvantaged children since appropriate materials have not been produced in quantity in the past. More materials are now becoming available.

Listed below are developmental materials and trade books which have particular appeal to disadvantaged children, and materials with suggestions for parents.

Developmental Materials	*Suggested Level*
—Reading Round Table, by American Book Company, Cincinnati, Ohio	primary and up
—Urban Living Series (Social studies)	primary
—Butternut Hill Series	primary

—What Is It Series (Science)	primary
—Cowboy Sam Series (western adventure)	primary and up
—Button Family Series (about a blue collar family), by Benefic Press, Chicago, Illinois	later elementary
—Specific Skill Series, by Barnell Loft, Ltd., Rockville Centre, New York	primary and up
—Chandler Language-Eperience Readers	primary
—Chandler Concept Films, by Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco, California	primary
—Skill Laboratories (study skills), by Educational Development Laboratories, Huntington, New York	later elementary
—City Schools Reading Program	primary
—Spelling and Writing Patterns	primary and up
—Beginning Science Books	primary and up
—Beginning-To-Read Books	primary
—Interesting Reading Series	primary and up
—Just Beginning to Read	pre-primer
—Beginning Social Studies Books	primary and up
—All Star Sports Books, by Follett Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois	later elementary
—Language Kit, by Ginn and Company, Boston, Massachusetts	pre-reading
—The Little Owl Books	grades 1-2
—The Young Owl Books	grades 2-4
—The Wise Owl Books, by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York	grades 4 and up
—Listen and Do Materials, by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts	primary
—Bank Street Readers	primary
—Reading Spectrum, by Macmillan Publishing Company, New York	later elementary
—Open Court Readers, by Open Court Publishing Company, LaSalle, Illinois	primary
—Peabody Language Development Kit, by Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee	pre-reading
—Computational Skills Kit	primary and up
—Our Working World (economics)	primary
—Pilot Library	later primary
—Reading and Listening Laboratories	primary and up
—Science Laboratories and Picture Charts	later primary
—Skills Kit (study skills), by Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois	primary
—Multi-Ethnic Readers, by Scott Foresman Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois	primary
—Animal Story Book (controlled vocabulary), by Steck Publishing Company, Austin, Texas	primary and up
—The Skyline Series, by Webster Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Manchester, Ohio	primary and up

Books For Parents

Heimer, Ralph T. and Miriam Newman. *The New Mathematics for Parents.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

Frank, Mary, and K. Lawrence. *How to Help Your Child In School.* New York: New American Library, 1954.

National School Public Relations Association. *How To Help Your Child Learn.* Washington: National Education Association, 1960.

Van Atta, Frieda E. *How To Help Your Child In Grade School Science.* New York: Random House, 1962.

Smith, Mildred B. *How To Help Your Child With Reading.* Indianapolis: E. C. Seale and Co., 1963.

Books, about Heroes, Today and Yesterday[1]

Title	*Author*	*Publisher*
America: Robert E. Lee	Commager	Houghton Mifflin
America: Abraham Lincoln	McNeer	Houghton Mifflin
Amos Fortune	Yates	Aladdin
Armed with Courage— a collection of biographies	McNeer	Abbingdon
Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics	Hirsbery	Messner
Booker T. Washington	Grahma	Messner
Bob Cousy	Devaney	Putnam
Breakthrough to the Big League— an autobiography	Jackie Robinson	Harper
Carver's George	Means	Houghton Mifflin
Famous Negro Music Makers	Langston Hughes	Dodd, Mead
Gil Hodges' Story	Shapiro	Messner
Great American Negroes	Richardson	Crowell
Harriet Tubman	Petry	Crowell
John Fitzgerald Kennedy	Martin	Putnam
Martin Luther King	Clayton	Prentice
Meet Abraham Lincoln	Cary	Random
Mickey Mantle of the Yankees	Schoor	Putnam
Ralph J. Bunch	Kugelmoss	Messner
Roy Campanella Story	Shapiro	Putnam
Sandy Koufax, Strikeout King	Hano	Putnam
Story of My Life	Helen Keller	Doubleday
Meet John F. Kennedy	White	Random

[1] These books may be read to elementary pupils when too difficult for them to read.

Library Books with Urban Settings

Title	*Author*	*Publisher*	*Level*[2]
ABC of Buses	Shuttleworth	Doubleday	P
All-of-a-Kind Family— Jewish family in New York	Taylor	Follett	LE
All on the Team	Sandmel	Abingdon	LE
A Whistle for Willie— about a brown boy	Keats	Viking	P
Barton Takes the Subway— a Puerto Rican Boy in New York	Brenner	Alfred Knopf	P
Benjie— about a Negro boy	Lexan	Dial Press	P
Burgess Book of Nature Lore— about city children who go to the country	Burgess	Little	LE
Here Comes the Strikeout— city children playing ball in the street	Kessler	Harper	P
Indian Hill— Indian boy who comes off the reservation	Bulla	Cromwell	LE
Ladder to the Sky— about a Negro family	Chandler	Abelard-Schuman	LE
My Dog Rinty— Negro boy	Tarry	Viking Press	P
Roosevelt Grady— Negro migrant family	Shotwell	World Publishing	LE
Tiny Little House—	Clymer	Atheneum	P
Together in America— history of the Negro in this country	Johnston	Dodd, Mead	LE
Soo Ling Finds a Way—	Gehrens	Golden Gate Junior Books	P
Who will be My Friend?—	Hoff	Harper and Brothers	P

[2] *Code*: P - grades 1-3, LE - grades 4-6

Trade Books with Rural Settings

Title	*Author*	*Publisher*	*Level*[a]
ABC ofBuses	Shuttleworth	Doubleday	P
Autumn Harvest	Tresselt	Lothrop, Lee, and Shephard	P
Blueberry Pie	Floethe	Scribner	P
Brown Cow Farm	Ipcar	Doubleday	P
Burgess Book of Nature Lore	Burgess	Little	LE
D. J.'s Worst Enemy— setting in rural Georgia	Burch	Viking	LE
Doll for Lily Belle	Snow	Houghton Mifflin	LE
Farmer in the Dell	Hader	Macmillan Company	P
Fly Away Goose	Lasel	Houghton Mifflin	P
I Know a Farm	Collier	Scott, William R.	P
In the Midde of the Night	Fisher	Crowell	P
One Horse Farm	Ipcar	Doubleday	P
Pocketfull of Crickets	Caudill	Holt, Rinehart, and Winston	P
Rabbit Hill	Lawson	Viking	LE
Skinny— a setting in rural Georgia	Burch	Viking	LE
Spring is Like the Morning	Craig	Putnam	P
Sum Up	Tresselt	Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard	P
Woke Up Farm	Tresselt	Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard	P

[a] *Code*: P for primary; LE for later elementary

More Tender Hearts

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forts "to cope" more constructively with his feelings.

As yet, as far as we know, there is no one particular theory and approach that can be construed as most valid scientifically. Our own interpretation of "sensitivity training" accepts as basic the development of a climate that allows and encourages the emergence of significant self-discovery. Traditional course content coverage of specialized subject matter does not automatically guarantee competency in effective communication with the child. Certainly the teacher needs to possess a functional body of knowledge. But, perhaps first and foremost, the teacher needs to feel able to understand the child. Intellect and emotions are not necessarily concomitant partners. To care for another, teachers need to be helped to understand themselves better.

Each Child Has Intrinsic Value

Fundamental to a democracy there is the basic belief that each and every human being, indeed every child, is worthy and possesses intrinsic value. The natural laws of development provide the prenatal babe with his own timetable for growth to prepare him to make ready for his journey to earth. From conception, his organismic uniqueness is established and affected by his mother's general health and emotional ability to welcome him. After birth, he is totally dependent upon others for his very survival. But his nature and nurture cannot be separated easily as they become intertwined during the very earliest development. Long before he can speak the words of his people he learns the "emotional language" conveyed to him in his experiences felt and perceived with those who care for him. Out of the "touch" of caring hands, out of the sounds felt from the voices relating to him, he will build his earliest feelings of worth and trust.

Later when he goes to school, his teacher will represent another important person in his expanding world. What he brings to school and in turn what he takes home from school are dependent upon what his past experiences have allowed him to become. He is *culture bound* and can become only what his composite experiences permit him to utilize as his foundation for continued learning.

Teachers through the ages have enjoyed working with children who learn easily, who respond quickly. These children have been referred to as "bright" or "alert" or "smart." Too frequently, children from impoverished homes have been at a disadvantage in their readiness to respond to school and have appeared "slow" or "retarded" or "unresponsive." In recent years a more understanding concern is evidenced by designation acknowledging causative factors related to problem learners. Admittedly we evidence an increased awareness of the need to understand when we re-

fer to these children as "the culturally deprived" or the "under-achievers."

Too often we have spoken of such children as the "hard-to-reach," and often the truth has been that we have not tried hard enough to reach them. It is not that teachers have chosen deliberately to avoid reaching these children. More accurately teachers have not been helped to understand and to learn how to reach these younsters. About ninety percent of our teachers come from the middle class group. One in three children in many of our larger cities represent the "culturally deprived."

The majority of teachers have had little help in their college courses and experiences with regard to achieving a workable understanding of the disadvantaged child. Most texts provide a middle class focus and the child is expected to fit into the assumed middle class oriented world taken for granted by most teachers. Unprepared for a middle class world, unless his teacher learns how to reach him, he does not come to utilize his potentialities adequately. To want to learn, the child needs to feel *valued, wanted,* and *worthy*. The teacher who conveys faith in him as a person of worth with his own ability to grow may inspre hm to want to learn how to be his very best self.

Encouragement of Growth of Self

Essentially, to assist and encourage in the ongoing discovery of self, there appears to be some similarity of the growth facilitating conditions desirable in child and adult. The individual needs to feel himself fully confirmed by the persons who represent the "significant others" in his life. Teachers, as guiding persons, are a vital group of "significant others" in the lives of many of their students (regardless of age).

A climate which conveys an accepting atmosphere, a non-judgmental as well as a non-threatening situation, appears to free each person to be his most authentic self. In such a setting, a child or adult generally is freed to actualize himself most fully, creatively, and productively. He comes to experience more faith in himself and in turn greater trust in others. With his emerging trust, he finds his own self-respect enhanced and comes to feel more identity and respect for others. His more appreciative attitudes of self and others allow him to come to grips with the differences that prevail within the human race. Occasionally, he may even be able to deal more adequately with those barriers that can separate him from others in his ongoing experiences. His capacity "to listen to" and "to feel with" another may increase significantly. He may be better able to learn how "to cope" more adequately with his frustrations and even eventually how to channel his indignations with regard to injustices he recognizes.

Approaches Utilized

Through the years each of us has valued efforts to assist students to build increased sensitivity and "more tender hearts." Whether in the setting of a college classroom for undergraduates or a community group, we have found a variety of approaches helpful at different times. Generally we favor a circle seating arrangement. We prefer the face-to-face setting that we believe encourages increased listening to one another in a group. Every effort is encouraged to convey that each member is valued for himself with whatever contribution he considers appropriate no matter how agreeable or divergent. A belief in the right of each individual to participate in his own unique way justifies our lack of urging active verbal participation by all. There are times when "listening" participation can be especially meaningful to some. The absence of pressure permits each person to belong in the way appropriate for that person. There is an attempt, however, to try to be aware of "the gentle look" that communicates a readiness to talk.

Structured lectures are used to a minimum. Very frequently student questions, concerns, and challenges are utilized as an opening for a meeting. Meaningful films that challenge thinking, problem solving, and exploration of feelings and attitudes are included. Some especially functional films that appear to be moving and spark emergence of significant kinds of awareness and insights for students (who teach or are to teach) are recommended. Some of these are *Children Without, Harvest of Shame, Children of Change, The Quiet One, Portrait of a Disadvantaged Child,* and others.

There may or may not be specific assigned readings depending upon the nature of the group participants. Generally we encourage self-initiated study and find that students read as much as when assignments are specific. Some related fictional readings are recommended. In addition to the above, at varied times we have utilized resource persons, tapes, reading of challenging excerpts, role playing and puppets, tape recordings, bulletin boards, and trips.

As part of our relationship with groups, we encourage exploration of the meaning of prejudice (defined simply as "pre-judge"). Students have

come to see with honesty and integrity how subtle is the learning of prejudice and how necessary to learn to face it, understand it, and hopefully work towards its resolution for improved relationships. In the area of racial prejudice some specific readings have been recommended. Among these considered illuminating are *The Nature of Prejudice, Glass House of Prejudice, A Nation of Immigrants,* and *A Profile of the Negro American.*

Creative Expression

Creative expression and autobiographical reflections are encouraged in sensitivity training for those who wish to explore in these directions. Occasionally some have chosen to try out original efforts in painting, music, written drama, and poetry. Each student's contribution is respected and when desired material is considered totally confidential. With student permission creative efforts are sometimes shared with an entire group and when preferred or advisable, anonymously.

We are convinced that "More Tender Hearts" have been emerging and that teachers are gathering strength in this joint adventure to "reach" all. Each one of us can join in this national challenge to help children discover the wonder and joy in the world of learning.

One young teacher granted us permission to share her poem conveying her feelings to reach every child. *Anne Sisler* wrote:

EMPATHY

How can I tell you of the
beauty of the night
When you have only seen the
splendor of the day?
Traverse with me in darkness
And you shall know
That which in light
Lies so clear.
People it is of whom I speak,
People whose beating hearts
Struggle in the flickering twilight,
Whose burdens are born
With strength and courage,
Whose lingering hopes
Point toward tomorrow's radiance.
Find in me the beauty of your day
So that I, too, may live in dignity.

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The Child Development Center: A Program to Provide Children a "Head Start" in Life and Implications for Primary Education

Continued from page 8

most inhuman output of energy. In other words, strides forward are made only when some of us not only give up our complacency but also are not afraid to subject ourselves to the accusations of being glory-seekers, money-spenders, and "way-outers" (although you may feel "way-out" when someone asks you to take a secondary mathematics teacher or a third generation elementary teacher and make a child development specialist and early childhood teacher out of them in six days!). There is no doubt that it takes "way-out" courage to ask for the time and money it takes to implement new ideas.

Basic Assumptions Underlying the Child Development Center Concept

What are some of these costly ideas about development? The ideas may not be new, ideas which educators have not been knowledgeable enough or vociferous enough about to sell to public

education. I should like to suggest five basic beliefs underlying the CDC concept which I feel the designers of this program contribute as a result of their professional training and experience in such fields as medicine, psychiatry, clinical psychology, social work, and nursery education.

First, they are more accustomed to working as a member of a team. The *team approach* — a team in which each person has a vital contribution to make but who singularly cannot provide the optimum opportunity for any one child, let alone thirty or forty in a classroom — and a team far more inclusive than a team of teachers. The team approach is a concept which the schools must accept if we are to accept the challenge before us.

Secondly, these professions are not only more oriented to *working with people on an individual or small group basis,* but they have more experience in actually doing so. Their services are consequently expensive; but if education is to take its place as a real profession, it must find ways to work with individuals and small groups.

Thirdly, these professions are more accustomed to working with the child in his *total developmental setting.* Parents take a child to the doctor, and reveal their fears, feelings, and concerns. He calls in their home as does the public health nurse. The social case worker sees the child and his family in their home, neighborhood, and community setting. The nursery educator has long viewed his job as half-time with children, half-time with parents; or he has not really been a nursery teacher. We must not only give lip service but real application to the concept of working with the "whole" child.

Fourth, there is a developmental idea, advocated by the psychiatrist, supported by the pediatrician and the nursery educator, the importance of "*the early years as formative ones.*" As one of our recent Head Start participants, a male high school science teacher queried, "What makes us think that starting with four year olds will help? Isn't it still too late?"

There is little doubt, that for some, the physical and psychological deprivations are irreversible at this age; for others, partially reversible; and for others, quite reversible, depending upon the severity of the deprivation and the opportunities for reversibility which we can really create.

Fifth, another concept, that of *continuity in experience and development,* is especially relevant to those of us interested in elementary education. For if what is started in the Child Development Center is not continued, we have indeed wasted our time, energy, money, and the lives of the children we are hoping to help. Dr. Martin Deutsch of New York Medical College, with whose work I am sure you are familiar, says, "There is some evidence that children who do get a 'head start' which has no follow-up momentum will return to their original levels. . .it is even possible that some children would be so disappointed with the contrast between their original experiences in a rich environment and the typical slum school to which they graduate, their performance levels will deteriorate further."

This is not unlike the question so frequently asked by parents contemplating nursery education for their child: "Won't my child be bored in kindergarten or first grade?" The answer of course is, "No, if the rich learning environment offered in the nursery school is continued in a quality kindergarten or first grade program." This is one of the major challenges facing kindergarten, first, and second grade teachers. What will happen to children who have a rich preschool background and move into a traditionally structured first grade?

The Child Development Center Concept

The Child Development Center therefore must be *a comprehensive program* composed *of several interrelated component services* designed to meet the *needs of the child and his family*: (1) health services, (2) social services, (3) family involvement and education, (4) nutritional program, (5) early childhood education, (6) assessment and evaluation.

The Child Development Center staff consists of a variety of persons representing many disciplines: (1) doctor (2) dentist, (3) public health nurse, (4) psychiatrist, (5) psychologist, (6) social worker, (7) early childhood educator, (8) nutritionist, (9) homemaker specialist, (10) family life educator, (11) volunteers: teachers' aides, homemaker teachers, and school-community coordinators.

Two things should strike you about these definitions. One, we are as concerned with the child's family as we are with the child. We must provide some continuity between the school and home environment as we may stand little chance of breaking the cycle of poverty without involving the total family complex. It seems imperative to me that we must admit that as public schools we have closed the doors and isolated ourselves from many parents and families, and we are paying the price for it. We are forced now to recognize that the family and its environment have a greater influ-

ence on the child than we do. We must allow parents to help us and themselves. Secondly, you should become aware of the fact that the teacher truly becomes a member of a team. The curriculum she plans is but one part of her role. She becomes directly involved in the other component services which are part of the program for the children and families with whom she is working. She plays a critical role in the assessment and evaluation of the child and family's needs, in the planning of a comprehensive program for the child and family; and although she is not directly administering medical, counseling, or homemaker services, she plays an extremely important supportive role in seeing that these are carried out. *Since the key to an effective program, according to Dr. Richmond, is staff discussion and coordination of their observation and evaluations of the child and family's needs in planning and executing a comprehensive program, part of the teacher's time must be allocated for recording observations, participating in staff discussions, and maintaining family contacts.*

I cannot take the time here to elaborate on the nature of the health, nutritional, family relationship, or social problems which we can anticipate finding among the disadvantaged segments of our population, since I am assuming that you have spent some time considering these aspects of poverty. However, I am compelled to call your attention to two aspects of the program which I feel are a particular challenge to the schools and the teacher. One is that of family involvement and education. Note that I have chosen to use the term "involvement" and not just "education." We dare not assume that the P.T.A. lecture-type meeting is the type of experience which will help us reach families. There is an urgent need for new and creative ways of involving parents in a cooperative venture. This implies a new role for the teacher and certainly has additional implications for teacher training. The second aspect of the program which I feel will require new kinds of insight, skills, and training is that of assessment and evaluation. The teacher is going to be asked to view the child's development and behavior in a more comprehensive way than she has perhaps been accustomed or trained to do.

The Early Childhood Education Component

Early childhood education covers the chronological age span from approximately two to eight years or in terms of educational programs as they evolved the nursery-kindergarten-primary years. Although we have talked about preschool, pre-primary, or nursery-kindergarten education, the divisions are, of course, arbitrary and many times unfortunate ones. They serve to perpetuate many of the rigidities which are so prevalent in our educational system. We have only to note the resistance in our thinking to the ungraded primary, and I would be inclined to extend this to an ungraded early childhood curriculum.

Varying Capacities To Accept Change

Recognition of the principles on which an early childhood curriculum is founded requires definite changes in our traditional concepts of the first school years, first and second grades included. One of the serious questions by the chief Head Start planners has been the consideration that the older, experienced elementary-primary teacher may not be the best one for either the early childhood curriculum or the disadvantaged child due to the hardening of attitudes about education and children and the resistance to change which sometimes occurs with age and experience. In my very limited involvement with Head Start trainees, I would have to lend some support to this conjecture. It is almost as if the secondary teacher or the inexperienced teacher is quite aware that they must "take-in" a new orientation and methods of approach, whereas those persons accustomed to working with the primary group tend not to feel the necessity for critically examining their attitudes and approaches.

One superintendent who accompanied several of his teachers during the week of Head Start training observed at the end of the third day, "I'm afraid it will just be impossible to change their ideas and the ways they have been doing things for so many years." By this he meant that he feared the traditional first grade approaches would be applied to programs for deprived four and five year olds. By Saturday morning, his comment was, "I think they are beginning to recognize the value of some of these new ideas, but I am afraid they will revert to their old ways on Monday morning." Even though the group was able to observe a day care school program in which they saw groups of three, four, five, and six year olds learning and working each in their own way according to their own level of development, seeing confirmed new insights for some, but for others added to the rejection they already experienced.

The significant factors of course are individual flexibility, openness to change, acceptance of new ideas. This too was revealed by another administrator who had been listening to discussions about guiding individual behavior and handling feelings of aggression and frustration in the young

child. After having observed the younger children, he went to other sections of the playground to watch the older children. He quickly returned to the preschool wing and said, "I want my teachers to come see this! Why they handle these older children just like you're telling us to do the little ones!" There were also instances of acceptance and even transference of new ideas about human behavior in the course of six days.

As we talked during the week of Head Start training about developing a good self-concept and accepting, interpreting, and handling feelings, we became aware that it makes no difference basically whether we are four or forty. Some of us have feelings that are not easily changed. The important thing is that we learn to identify, understand, and work with them the best way we can. Several persons, I feel, during the week of the Head Start workshop came to the realization that perhaps they weren't really cut out to work with the young child. This is indeed a healthy recognition of self. We also found this to be one of the advantages of working with several teachers. What one of us didn't feel comfortable doing, another might. Together, as a team, our acceptance of all children and our program could be much greater and richer than with just one of us.

The Early Childhood Classroom

When you enter an early childhood room, there are two striking differences from other types of classrooms. First, it looks like a *laboratory*. The room is divided into many experience or work areas completely equipped with the appropriate materials and apparatus for various kinds of learning. There is activity going on in several of them at the same time. Children are free to move from one area to another. This means that one child may be deeply engrossed in listening to music, another in hearing a story, another in wondering how that tadpole turned into a frog, two others trying to figure out how to build a structure tall enough to house their rocket without its falling down, another trying out what it feels like to sit down at a table with a mother and father, another painting his feelings right through the paper on the easel, another questioning the teacher about a dead fish, another achieving the personal conquest of climbing to the top rung of a ladder box, and another having finally discovered enough inner security to venture ten feet away from the teacher's side to watch the other children's activity without her protection. There is much opportunity for individual as well as small group learning, about one's self as well as the world around him.

All this activity may completely unnerve our adult sense of the quiet, orderly concept of what a classroom ought to be. As one woman, a sixth grade teacher and elementary principal, remarked, "Well, I guess I can just go home and throw away the lesson plans of all the things I thought I was going to teach these little ones, and start collecting materials and objects, and old clothes and steering wheels and milk crates. I can see that I'm not going to teach them; I'm going to provide the materials and experiences so they can learn."

How Children Learn

So they can learn....and how do children learn? If we recognize the true nature of the child and how he begins to learn, we accept this fact: *Children are naturally curious.* They have a basic need and urge to learn and to know, unless we squelch that urge. How do they learn? There are six points we might keep in mind as we work with young children. *They learn*:

(1) *Through their sensory and physical experiencing.*

They learn what paste is like by *touching* it, *tasting* it, *rubbing* it, *listening* to it, *watching* it get dry, *feeling* its stickiness, and *observing* that things stick to it.

(2) *By relating sensory-perceptual experiences.*

They learn by *hearing* the sounds and labels for the objects and processes they encounter, by *repeating* the sounds and labels over and over again, by *being listened to* by someone who takes the time to care, the time to let them know that curiosity is a thing of value, that simple impressions are important, and that their words are important.

(4) *Through questioning.*

The child will ask over and over again, "What's this?" He repeats the question and answer over and over again until the response is well practiced and a part of his sensory-motor and verbal systems *but only if someone rewards his questioning mind.* If not, he learns that it doesn't bring satisfaction to wonder, to inquire, to learn. To inquire with every sensory and muscular modality available to him is a natural urge in the young infant and child, but the motivation to question, to wonder is sustained only if someone takes the time and provides the opportunity to show him the personal and social rewards of such inquiry.

(5) *Through opportunities to relate, generalize, and verbalize direct, immediate experience.*

The child mixes flour and water. "It sticks like paste, but it isn't paste."

He rides on an elevator. "We're going up without moving our feet, but we can't see anything." He rides on an escalator. "We're going on steps that are moving, but my feet aren't moving. I can see everything."

He rides on a bus to the zoo. He works on time and space concepts. "We sing a hundred songs to get there. We are hungry, and it's time to eat when we get there."

He watches the men lower a big sewer pipe into the ground. He sees the water going down the sewer drain. He travels to the river and watches the sewer empty out the water. He sees the beginning and end *if* someone provides the opportunity. *These are direct, immediate, concrete experiences which have meaning to the child at an experience level he can feel and conceptualize. A child cannot learn what he does not experience.*

(6) *Through rehearsing and practicing.*

Internalization of experience is making it a real part of you. How does the child internalize the more complex sensory-motor-perceptual experiences he encounters? He digs the sewer; he runs water through a pipe; he discovers what happens as he raises or lowers the pipe or alters the water pressure; he talks to an adult who listens and challenges him to observe. He builds a bus and goes around and around until he has sung one hundred songs or until it is time to eat, and it took him just as long as it really did to go to the zoo: that must be an hour. He pulls himself up fast by his hands to the top of a ladder box and becomes an elevator; he builds steps underneath the crossbars and travels along with his hands just like an escalator, seeing everything, but not moving his feet.

What about experiences children feel about themselves and other people, the self-other concepts which are just as important as concepts about the external world? Do they have a chance to verbalize and contend with these. . .the chance to be as good as your brother even if you aren't, to shove other people around, to sleep in a bed all by yourself, to talk on the telephone all day long if you want, to know how it feels to fix things like a plumber, to know so much like a teacher, to scold like a mother, to take care of people like a nurse.

A laboratory has real materials and equipment, soil, water, blocks, boards, playhouse, and accepting assistants who help you verbalize, rehearse, internalize, and conceptualize the variety of real, concrete experiences which are the essence of learning.

What have we been talking about? We have been talking about a curriculum based on the developmental progression of human learning, a sequence drawing on the ideas of Piaget and Werner, and outlined by Deutsch in his preschool curriculum for socially disadvantaged children: (1) the sensory-motor level in which perceptual discriminations are facilitated through the child's actual contact with materials and the learning of correct labeling, (2) the perceptual level in which discriminations are facilitated through actual contact with contrasting situations and their coordination and relatedness through differentiated verbal label, and finally (3) the representational level in which situations are presented through verbal and conceptual levels with a minimum of concrete perceptual support. Notice that we have barely touched this last stage. Nor have we mentioned books, stories, and pictures, the pictorial and printed form, the duplicated form which are our major tools in the primary grades.

What are pictures and books? To look at a picture is a secondhand, indirect experience. It is an abstraction, not a reality, of the object or situation portrayed. Lacking experience with the actual concrete object, a four year old does not know upon seeing two pictures, one of a brown cow, another of a black and white cow, that they are both cows. He may proceed to tell you all the different kinds of cows, Jersey, Guernsey, *et cetera.* How can the verbal or visual or printed symbols which we expect the child to master have any meaning to him without an adequate experience base?

We must recognize that books and pictures reinforce in another dimension, a once-removed, abstract dimension, our immediate sensory experience. The abstractions alone, without the actual concrete experience, have little or no meaning for the child. The early childhood curriculum is therefore comprised of many first-hand, direct sensory-physical experiences for the child, which build a developmental background for second-hand, indirect experiences such as those "seen in a book" or "told about" by a teacher or other person.

(7) *How do we use books and pictures?*

(a) We observe and listen to the child at school and at home and provide books and pictures of situations already familiar in his environment and of things revealed in his play.

(b) We provide new, concrete experiences through field trips and new materials and equipment in the classroom; and we look for books which represent and reinforce those experiences.

(c) We assume that a book or story is just the beginning. We examine it for the concepts it introduces and plan concrete experiences to give meaning to the verbal, pictorial, and printed symbols.

(d) We provide opportunities for the child to verbalize his experiences, to internalize his conceptualizations through rehearsing with real or representational objects his life experiences.

The child is then ready for the third state of cognitive development. He is ready to cope with abstract verbal and conceptual levels with a minimum of concrete, realistic support because he has an adequate foundation of internalized and verbalized experience at the sensory-motor-perceptual levels.

This is the general rationale underlying the cognitive aspects of the early childhood curriculum. Deutsch has outlined four aspects of curriculum for the socially disadvantaged child: (1) Language Aspects, (2) Sensory-Perceptual Aspects, (3) Conceptual Training Aspects in terms of information about his environment; in terms of first-hand experiences, reinforced through appropriate use of blocks, play equipment, and accessory materials; training cognitive set to ask questions; focusing attention and following directions; perceptual differentiation and generalization; and general abtraction activities, grouping, classifying, *et cetera*. There are many specific techniques employed for developing the visual and auditory, language, and abstraction abilities which I assume you have encountered in your analysis of diagnostic and remedial programs.

The fourth aspect of the curriculum outlined by Deutsch is "Developing an Awareness of Self." This, I feel, is reflected in the second difference which usually strikes us about an early childhood room (you recall that we said the first was that it looks like a laboratory). This is the presence of adult support and individual guidance in much greater abundance than in the one-teacher classroom. The adult-child ratio required by Head Start or Child Development Center programs is three adults to every 15 children, a one to five ratio, one of whom must be a qualified teacher and one a paid teacher's aide; the third may be a volunteer. The presence of supportive adults is essential if the fourth goal of our curriculum is to have any meaning. We can only acquire a good self-concept if we are exposed to persons who understand us, who have the time and take the time to care about the way we feel, to listen, to talk, to hold and nurture us. In nursery education, we have talked for years about a "lap-sitting" curriculum, the "story-on-my-lap" kind of nurtuance, the "eye-to-eye" level, or as Keith Osborne would say, the "eyeball to eyeball" — that "you and me — we count" kind of feeling. You may not want to talk about a lap-sitting curriculum, but you need a *person-to-person* one.

We need in teachers more than persons who care. The teacher must be a person who understands child development. He must be skillful in observing and interpreting behavior, in evaluating needs and feelings. He must be able to identify and accept each child's stage of development and readiness to participate or not to participate in any given activity, to provide the right amount and kind of encouragement at the right time. Here we are talking not only about verbal behavior, perceptual discrimination skills, or reading abilities. We are talking about emotional readiness to learn, to express oneself, to approach adults and children in constructive ways. In the true preschool environment there is freedom to be oneself, and the teacher must be able to use this environment to guide the child in the kinds of experiences which give him the inner sureness it takes to participate in a group learning situation.

In our experience with children in pre-primary programs we have learned that it takes some children many months, sometimes years, to achieve the level of inner security which enables them to cope with the pressures involved in the demands of formal first grade learning. We will leave many children at the end of this summer Head Start program who are still quite retained in their own individual activities, the security of a work-bench or a sandbox, who haven't yet reached the point of cooperative interplay, the ability to share or express their ideas, to imagine, build, and construct together. These children will go to kindergarten or first grade this fall where typically there will be 25 to 35 in a room with one teacher. When will they be able to develop those feelings of inner sureness and confidence to approach others, to ask questions, to listen and follow directions, to share an experience, at their pace of readiness, in their own special way?

It takes a special kind of curriculum, and most important of all, a special kind of teacher who not only is skilled in understanding and guiding children's needs and behavior but who is responsible for conducting continual inservice education for the other adults who must help her accomplish these goals, whether they are professional teachers, voluntary assistants, or parents.

What Implications Does The Child Development Center Concept And The Early Childhood Curriculum Have For The Elementary School?

If there is to be continuity in the child's school experiences:

(1) Should the first and second grade classroom and curriculum be more like the pre-primary experience with its consequent implications for a greater variety of concrete learning experiences?

(2) How many children should a teacher be responsible to? What should the adult-child ratio be? What kinds of adults, what type of training or experience should they have?

(3) What kind of behavioral assessment of the child should there be, other than that of his formal school skills and abilities?

(4) What services should the school offer or coordinate in comparison to those outlined in the Child Development Center program? Should the teacher or school be responsible for planning a comprehensive program for the child? What should the teacher's role be in relation to the family?

(5) If we are presently limited in providing the kinds of concrete experiences and the individual, small-group guidance that an enriched curriculum may demand, what are some of these restrictions and what creative ways can we find of overcoming them?

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length of time. Of course there were occasions when such flexibility was out of the question. It then became the responsibility of the institute leaders to work in such a way as to have the presence of a consultant be "just the thing" to revitalize the program. In this respect I cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity for flexibility in a program, plus "leveling" with the speaker so that he may feel free to operate in the manner that seemed best at the given time, whether it be lecture, large group discussion, or small group discussions. Such an arrangement played a big part in the selection of consultants. Since we are attempting to establish informal "give-take" relationships in our group, it was necessary to convey this to our speakers and attempt to avoid as many formal *one-sided* presentations as possible.

While the teachers were working on the development of classroom skills, the school community workers met as a group to make plans for contacting the existing agencies which might provide youngsters who could participate in our program. This group also examined various intake interview forms in order to be in a better position to formulate a form which would serve the needs of our group. From time to time these ideas would be presented to the entire group to get its reaction and further suggestions. In my opinion adequate preparation for the social community workers was lacking. Fortunately this particular group was quite self-sustaining, and this has not been a weak spot in the total program. However, I believe that more attention might well have been given to provide outside leadership for them. It certainly will be a very concrete part of the inservice work to come.

The work with consultants contributed a great deal in maintaining the total group effort concept rather than allowing a rather "natural" (teacher-social worker) division to widen to the extent that the overall program might suffer through group cleavage. The emphasis on communication and the encouragement of expression of feelings and ideas was imperative in order to provide the leaders opportunities to offer the kind of guidance which helped keep the group together and "goal minded."

A group dynamics session was held one night each week. This was organized to provide a kind of group catharsis time. While anxieties and tempers were built up and ofttimes resulted in "explosions," another opportunity for building stronger and more understanding relationships within the group was brought into being. It then became the responsibility of all, with major responsibility taken by the leaders, to resolve these problems and once more produce vital understandings among the group members.

Individual conferences were held to encourage more communication on the part of the participants. When establishing conferences, we tried to schedule the "quieter" group members first, with the hope that they might feel freer to talk in a large group. In every case, the individual attention did much to help the self-concept and to once again provide leadership another avenue for knowing the people in the group. It has been my experience that this aspect of a program is the one

most readily set aside and due to time pressures understandably so. However I believe that other more easily organized parts of a program might well be postponed or even abandoned in order to find the time for individual conferences.

After five weeks of the institute had passed, all of the teachers and the school community workers were assigned to the sites in which they would be working for the coming year. Orientation periods were held to brief them on how and where to obtain needed information, how to establish rapport with the host agency, and how to interview the parents of prospective students. During this phase of their training, they were again given the opportunity to be with leaders who could encourage them, help solve their problems, and continue to keep enthusiasm at a high level.

It is at this point that the story actually begins even though we have been together for five weeks. It is at this point that a particular written phrase may come to the fore or certain spoken words will seep through to help work out a problem. From here we all once more look at where we are going, what more we (as a group or individually) need to work on to direct us toward our goals. We may now then gather in our inservice sessions to plan together for future work. Hopefully, we are more ready to express ourselves, more willing to question, and certainly more ready to grow and thereby be better equipped to help others grow and develop, more specifically, some *X* number of three and four year old children living in some *X* community in which we are dedicated to work.

These communities are considered to be "disadvantaged." There is no doubt that teachers working with children from such areas must know the environmental background of each of the pupils in their classrooms. There is no doubt that it is extremely important to work as closely as possible with the significant adults (parents, aunts, grandparents) of these pupils. There is no doubt that a lower teacher-pupil ratio is necessary to improve the learning possibilities for these pupils. There is no doubt that proper and adequate materials will enrich the environment of three and four year old youngsters. Fortunately, monies are forthcoming to provide these things for the "disadvantaged." Now our culture seems more than willing (almost compelled) to carry out a war on poverty through education. It seems to me that educators *must* take advantage of this so-called "disadvantaged" situation and carry out the good educational practices we have been talking about for a long time. Many of the obstacles we have long lamented have been removed in these anti-poverty programs. We are now challenged to do what we have discussed for many years. Good education applies to any subculture. If we can carry it out in the "culturally deprived" areas, perhaps we can become strong enough to educate more effectively in "all" areas.

The Elementary Teacher and the Disadvantaged—Bug in a Tub

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windows were closed tightly, these creatures would enter the house in large numbers. These bugs did little or no damage; in fact, they were fairly attractive with orange stripes down their backs. Their only annoyance was the fact that they were around. The bugs collected on the window sills, on the floor, and in the sink and bathtub. The first morning's task during the siege was to remove the bugs. This was a matter of sweeping them from the sills and floor and flushing them down the drain of the sinks and tub. Then the writer began to watch these creatures in the tub. These bugs possessed a certain fascination for the viewer. It was easy to impute anthropomorphic abilities to these crawling things. Each one continuously struggled to climb the steep, slick wall of the tub. Just when there seemed to be some progress up the side of the tub, the bug would slide back down again. The bug would simply go to another place and start again. When these bugs became exhausted, they would stop to "catch their breath" and start anew. The writer will admit that he began to identify with the struggle of these bugs (actually to the point of flipping these bugs from the tub in respect for their striving and extending their opportunity and time for survival.)

In some ways the bug-in-tub situation is analogous to the teacher's struggling with limitations in seeking to improve instruction of disadvantaged children. The bug did not design his own structure or abilities. Had he done so, he would have had wings. He did not choose his equally limited, floundering friends. Neither did he select the tub to which he found himself confined. Yet the only thing to be done within the confines was to look up and strive to climb the barriers.

The teacher in seeking to teach the disadvantaged is circumscribed by four walls within which he must teach:

First, limitation of the self. Each teacher is hedged by limits set by heredity, health, intelligence, education, work experience, attitudes, values; one has little choice in the selection of the limits which confine him. A single teacher cannot possess an adequate measure of all the human capacities he perhaps ought to have in terms of the needs of the children to be taught. A teacher cannot be everything to every child in his class.

Second, limitations of the children. Teachers do not choose the bugs to be taught in the tub. Disadvantaged children have accumulative syndrones which minimize their learning potentials. These blocks may include health and emotional problems, limited cultural and language experience, restricted vocabulary and verbal expression, negative attitudes growing out of a sense of failure. Yet, with the limitations these children must be taught.

Third, limitations of the school. Each teacher will encounter limits in time, space, and money for instructional aids, teaching materials, class loads, curricular and supervisory leadership, and administrative policies and procedures. The teacher will continue to devote energy to the many tasks of conducting school and managing a classroom.

Fourth, limitations of the home and community. Disadvantaged children learn what they have a need and opportunity to learn within the limits of the home-community environment. The community sets the norms, values, and expectations by which parents and children approach and evaluate the school and its staff. Further, teachers reflect community attitudes and concerns for children in the goals and procedures of their classroom instruction.

In communities in which commitments and provisions are made to educate all the children, teachers reflect the same concern. If communities tend to neglect certain segments of children, the schools will reflect this neglect. Consequently, the success of instruction is limited by the interests, values, and resources of the community.

In no sense should these enumerated barriers be considered as discrete; each is a part of a dynamic, functioning system, a system which circumscribes and limits the success of a teacher. Many negative responses occur when teachers are almost overwhelmed by the restrictions of the educational tub. One might depreciate the worth of one's self and one's efforts. It may be a shock to realize that one is just a bug in a tub.

If the teacher identifies some bugs who have diffculty learning in a regular classroom, then these bugs may be classified and given a label. If the teacher does not know what to do with a child, at least he can be labeled. The label explains why little can be done; the child is "a slow learner," "mentally retarded," "low in intelligence," or "lazy."

Another negative response might be to devalue or ignore certain classes of bugs. After all the schools can't get every bug over the wall; some might just as well be washed down the drain; the bugs might as well drop out. But drop out to where?

The barriers are immediately available as bases for excuses for not striving for improvement. Many promising innovations are rejected with the citation of the perpetual limitations enumerated.

Some become so discouraged if not exhausted by the struggle against the many hedges that seem almost to kick back, that they give up the endeavor and return to the center of the tub, to less demanding, more monotonous, yet perhaps more satisfying activity of "holding school."

A teacher finding himself within these bounds should have one professional goal—to throw himself headlong with abandonment, against the barriers which block him. These barriers, unlike the sides of a tub, may be moved back for more living and learning space. Life and learning within this tub can be made more pleasant. These obstacles may in part be transcended. The entire educational enterprise is organized to make an eternal attack upon these barriers. The programs for the war on poverty and for teaching the disadvantaged children will be a massive, critical attack upon one of the most formidable obstructions to learning—the deprivation of children.

The successful attack upon one barrier will minimize the limits of all the other barriers. The incessant struggle against any and all barriers to learning demands and merits the total energy and commitment of each teacher.

By close inspection of the young bugs in the educational tub, educators have recently thought there ought to be some further grouping and renaming of a significant proportion of the bugs. Maturing, acute visual perception is required to discern among the bugs those who were disadvantaged. However, these bugs have been failing in the schools for some time. Time is required for educational diagnosticians to find common symtoms of educational problems among children from particular families, communities, classes, and

races. Changes in values and priorities are required to discriminate between diseases resulting from inherent weaknesses within individuals through heredity and diseases spread by infectious contamination.

Teachers in their classrooms have learned to teach the physically handicapped, the emotionally disturbed, the mentally retarded, the gifted, and the slow learner. These bugs could be taught by the identification of almost absolute, if not inherent characteristic weaknesses. A child might be classed as slow, lazy, disinterested, hostile, or dirty. These characteristics were assumed to be part of his nature.

In contrast, the maturity of educational leaders is made evident by the new labels given to the newly discovered sub-group of children who have difficulty achieving in school. Professional visual acuity to see educational needs of children seems to become keener with a developing sense of social sensitivity and responsibility. One of the terms used in this paper is "disadvantaged." This term, along with its many synonyms, not only identifies a child with some discernible behavioral characteristics, but the term also implies a cause for these characteristics. The term explains that the child learned what he had the opportunity to learn within the cultural *milieu* of his rearing. The term further implies action. If a child has difficulty learning knowledge, attitudes, or skills, the learning disability is the result of some deprivation. A simple statement of the action is that an enrichment program must be provided to compensate for the initial deprivation. The problem is therefore what might a teacher do to push back the limiting barriers and to provide a compensatory program for the disadvantaged children within his classroom.

A teacher can do many things to overcome his personal limitations which may tend to weaken his effectiveness in teaching the disadvantaged. All professional education is based upon the assumption that teachers can learn. Each teacher can acquire more knowledge, gain new insights, develop new skills, become more sensitive to particular educational needs, and make new and greater commitments.

Each teacher should seek to better understand the conditions which blunt, twist, and regress the constructive learning potentialities of children. Upon the basis of this deeper understanding, the teacher can recognize and respect the ability of children to learn within the conditions under which they are being reared. The teacher can truly accept a child as he is because of what has happened to him. Each negative attitude of a teacher which tends to further isolate a disadvantaged child may be recognized, analyzed, and dealt with. Each teacher can make a deeper commitment to improve his competence to teach disadvantaged children in his class.

What may a teacher do to compensate for the limitations of the children to be taught? These children must be accepted as they are. A carpenter newly employed to complete a building on a cluttered lot does not damn the half-built structure or junk-strewn lot; he just cleans the lot and attaches the next rafter in its place.

The teacher must not set arbitrary, unreasonable standards to establish failure. If a child is tone deaf, he is not required to sing daily in a choir to demonstrate his lack of ability to sing. The child, the teacher, and the choir members soon become aware of the disability without the daily rehearsal. A child who is color blind is not expected to paint a rainbow. He may be encouraged to do something in charcoal. If a child has both legs removed above the knees, he would not be expected to daily jump hurdles and run races with children with normal legs. He would be taught to develop skills in sports better suited to his abilities.

An already handicapped, emotionally burdened child needs to find success, not more failure, in school. The teacher must select and order learning opportunities in a manner to give a disadvantaged child the sense of power to do something. An adequate self-concept is not only developed by the teacher's acceptance alone but also by the child's sense of accomplishment. The child must have confidence and be able to demonstrate his abilities in performing tasks. Teachers can assist a child to overcome many of his limitations by starting with his abilities to do something, presenting learning tasks in sequential units, providing patient direction and encouragement, and giving ample reinforcement for any achievement. In compensatory programs teachers demonstrate that disadvantaged children learn what they have the opportunity to learn. These children achieve significant gains in learning with improved instruction designed for their specific learnng needs.

There are many limitations found within the school which tend to thwart programs for teaching the disadvantaged child. Although school practices and policies are designed for the effective education of all children, many school practices may actually neutralize efforts to reach and teach

disadvantaged children. Although each teacher is bound by the limits set by school policy, the professional and moral responsibility of the teacher is to make an individual effort to ameliorate school practices and conditions in the best interests of disadvantaged learners. The negative effects of grading policies can be neutralized through individual conferences with the children. The limitations set by large classes can be partially overcome by deliberate, sustained effort to provide individual attention and instruction.

Adjustments in grade norms for achievement may be made for disadvantaged children without weakening the instructional program. Teachers can, through special efforts, collect and utilize materials within the classroom which are more appropriate to the needs of the learners than basal texts assigned to the grade.

Policies related to textbook rental may often be more harmful to the children than they are beneficial in educating irresponsible parents. Intimidating young children in order to coerce, correct, or punish parents is morally wrong and a violation of a teacher's professional dedication to the task of educating all children.

Failure of a school to make books and supplies available for young children because parents are irresponsible, the daily harrassment of children for money for books and supplies, and the withholding of the report cards because the father spends his money foolishly are all examples of practices which will militate against the education of the disadvantaged. Each teacher should resist these unjust practices which thwart efforts to reach these children. A slum child from a broken home cannot be taught that he belongs in the school when he is penalized for not having economically responsible parents. Many teachers buy instructional supplies and books for disadvantaged children in their rooms rather than embarrass a child for not paying his way.

Almost all of the war-on-poverty programs are designed finally to improve the conditions in homes and community which limit the potentialities of children. The teacher must utilize all available instructional resources to compensate for the deprivation in the home and community. The classroom must be an enriched world of things and activities which reach out and grab the interests of these children. The child must be bombarded with multisensory experiences. Upon these experiences concepts are formed, language is developed, vocabulary is increased. For an example, Harry J. Hayes, fourth grade teacher in Chicago, in an article titled "Language Arts Program for Culturally Deprived" (*Chicago Schools Journal*, May, 1965) reports his students made significant gains in school achievement as a result of what he calls the "saturation technique" of teaching. This reported program illustrates what one teacher can do to compensate for the limitation of the home and community.

The national effort to teach every child is built upon the assumption that every child can learn. Compensatory programs demonstrate that teachers can teach disadvantaged children; disadvantaged children can learn and achieve in programs specifically designed for them.

Dedicated teachers must continue to strive to overcome the limitations which debilitate disadvantaged children and doom many to school failure. The improvement of any limiting condition will tend to ameliorate other frustrating conditions.

Life in the educational tub can be more tolerable. Disadvantaged children find the tub even more confining than do the teachers. The tub can be a pressing, defeating, torturing sweat box—a miserable cubicle. The teacher can look up, out, and over. He knows the powers and potentialities of all learners. Each teacher tries to lift every one of his bugs out of the tub. He will be able to lift many. He does not really work alone. The resources of a nation are working with him.

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